

V. SUBRAMANIAM

Social
Background
of
India's
Administrators

PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

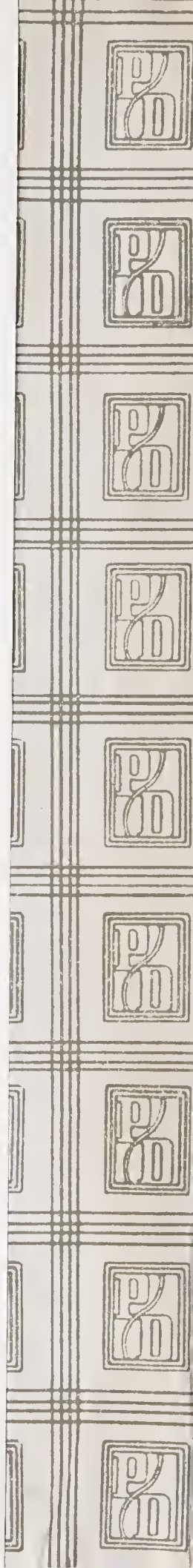


The author

Higher civil servants form a crucial group in all countries and a study of their social origins, educational background and attitudes is of importance from many points of view. Such studies have been made in several other countries too. The present study of India's administrators by Professor V. Subramaniam was conducted while he was teaching two batches of recruits to the higher civil services at the National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie. Unlike most other academic investigators, Professor Subramaniam was an 'insider' who had access to all official information about social origins and education and knew a large number of recruits personally while teaching them. The information has been processed by modern techniques, through the computer, and all interesting correlations have been explored.

The study tries to present as factual and correlated a picture as possible. While pointing out that the majority of direct recruits to the higher civil services are drawn from the urban middle class, it puts this picture in perspective by drawing attention to the rapid increase in the lower middle class element and the gradual evening out of regional imbalances in representation. After comparing the Indian situation with that in other countries, it discusses possible changes and states clearly the limitations of reform.

(please see next flap)





Social Background of India's Administrators

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF INDIA'S ADMINISTRATORS

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDY OF THE HIGHER CIVIL SERVICES OF INDIA

V. SUBRAMANIAM

**PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
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The views expressed in this book are the author's own and the Government of India does not bear any responsibility for them.

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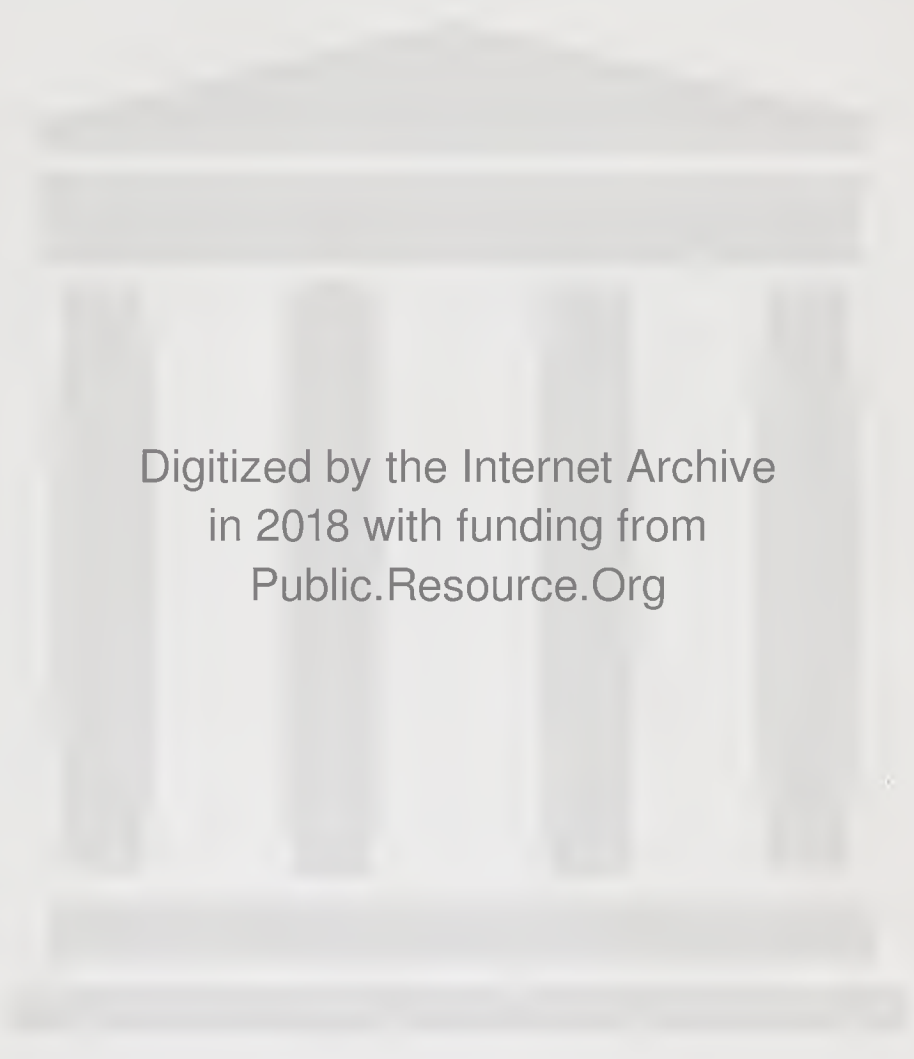
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work on the social background of India's administrators was conceived when I was a Professor at the National Academy of Administration for over a year from August 1964 to September 1965, very much in emulation of the classical studies in this field such as R. K. Kelsall's *Higher Civil Servants in Britain* and the Warner group's *The American Federal Executive*. Some earlier work on the Indian Administrative Service by Dr. D. N. Rao and Mr. R. K. Trivedi, I.A.S., showed up the interesting possibilities of a deeper and wider investigation covering all the Services. This investigation was launched in December 1964 and the collection of data was completed by June 1965. A part of the processing was done at the Computer Centre of the Planning Commission in New Delhi, but most of it was done by me at the Australian National University, Canberra and at the University of Western Australia, Nedlands, during 1965-1966. The text and the tables were prepared and polished at these two universities which I served during this period. These were finally touched up at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi.

A few words need to be said about the help given to me by others in regard to this study. Mr. D. C. Tiwari, Research Officer at the National Academy, collected information from the application forms for the Indian Administrative Service and interviewed about 35 civil servants in connection with the attitude study included in this work. I personally collected and coded the information from documents for all the other Services, namely, the Indian Foreign Service, the Indian Police Service and the four Central Services included herein. In addition, I also coded the information on the IAS and interviewed over 50 civil servants for the attitude study. I am personally responsible for the processing of all the coded data through the IBM sorter and computer and the preparation of all the tables and am, of course, solely responsible for the interpretation of the processed data and the conclusions drawn therefrom. Consequently, for all the sins of commission and omission in the book as a whole, I must bear all the blame. The views and conclusions are, of course,

mine and in no way reflect the official point of view. In publishing the book, the Ministry of Home Affairs just acknowledge its usefulness and importance.

Among those who helped me in coding and processing the data and preparing the tables, I would like to make a special mention of two, namely, Shri Mazumdar, I.A.S., who helped me in preparing an economical code and Shri G. Lakshmana Rao, who revised all the relevant tables in the light of new census data made available in 1966-67, after the completion of the Mss and indeed recast a mass of information into the minimum number of tables. I would also like to thank Shri K. B. Saxena, I.A.S., whose painstaking compilation of the case *for* representative bureaucracy helped me in my critical reassessment of it. Others who assisted me, mainly in coding, include Shri K. V. S. Iyer, I.A.S., Shri A. Venkatasubramaniam, I.A.S., Shri Gopal of the Auditor and Comptroller General's Office, New Delhi, and Shri Kalyan Bakshi, I.A.S. Shri K. G. Kurian helped me in processing the data in India and Mrs. Johnson of the University of Western Australia and Mr. Bill of the Australian National University similarly helped me in Australia. Besides the specific help rendered by all these, I owe much to my research assistants at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, in particular Miss R. Sitalakshmi and Miss Rita Hore and to the members of the staff of the Computer Centres of the Planning Commission, New Delhi, the University of Western Australia and the Australian National University.

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Shri L. P. Singh, the Secretary of the Home Ministry, was all the time a keen supporter of this piece of research and its early publication. Needless to add that they are not responsible for the views expressed by me though all of them helped with useful comments.

It is difficult to thank individually a good number of typists who sweated at the tables and the manuscript, both in India and in Australia. My debt to them is great indeed. My wife helped me with a number of one-way tables and my little boy Gautam too helped in his own small way. Among the academics who read the script and made useful and encouraging comments, I would like to mention, gratefully, Professor R. S. Parker, Head of the Department of Political Science of the Australian National University and Professor T. B. Bottomore, Head of the Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Political Science in the Simon Frazer University, British Columbia. I am thankful to the Director of the Publications Division of the Government of India and his staff who have produced the book so well.

V. SUBRAMANIAM

New Delhi

DEDICATED TO
MY STUDENTS AT
THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF ADMINISTRATION
INDIA.

1. RATIONALE AND METHODOLOGY

This introductory chapter consists of two parts; the first part discusses briefly some general concepts that have influenced recent researches into the social and economic background of higher civil servants and the second part deals with the scope and methods of the present survey. The discussion initiated in the first part is taken up again in the last chapter in the light of the conclusions drawn from this study.

I

THE BASIS OF RECENT STUDIES

Recent investigators in this field, such as Kelsall, Bottomore, Warner and his group, were all interested in particular to find out how representative a higher civil service was of the regions, occupational groups and classes in the country studied.¹ This interest derived, in the first instance, in the U.K., from sporadic charges made about the unrepresentative character of the British Civil Service and its domination by the middle class.² Kingsley's work on representative bureaucracy and Kelsall's detailed study of the social composition of the British administrative class were undertaken against that background. In the same manner, Bottomore's researches into the French higher civil service were in part inspired by contemporary accusations against it as an unprogressive urban middle class monopoly. The American investigators, on the other hand, were not concerned as such with charges of class dominance which were only rarely levelled at the members of the Federal Service, but were interested in it for its own sake, to find out "whether they (are) representative of the kinds of citizens ordinarily found in America" and were glad to discover that this was so.³

In general, all these investigators have assumed representative bureaucracy to be natural as well as desirable. In other words, they seem to imply that it is natural for a representative democracy to have a representative civil service and are disappointed that this is not so in many democracies. Secondly, they argue that a representative bureaucracy is desirable because it is responsive to the needs of all the classes and groups it is drawn from and, therefore of all public needs. As the implication and the argument are the basis of most recent work in this field, they need to be looked into in some detail.

To understand the disappointment of some critics with the not-so-representative character of the higher civil services in representative

democracies, let us examine them with the help of the sociological categories, 'ascriptive' and 'performance-oriented', rather than use terms such as representative and unrepresentative, with their normative overtones. These twin sociological categories are used as modes of reference—in judging men and things in different societies.⁴ In the ascriptive mode, some abilities are 'ascribed' to those who belong to certain families or classes, or groups—and whenever and wherever such abilities are required, the 'ascribed' are automatically called up. In the latter mode, the presence of such abilities is tested for by actual performance. The first mode is historically older and *prima facie* less rational than the second, but neither mode has a necessary logical relation with a representative or unrepresentative bureaucracy. But the first mode has been historically associated with an unrepresentative upper-class-dominated bureaucracy, just as the latter has come to be associated with representative bureaucracy. We shall see why.

Till about a century and a half ago, the higher positions in government and administration in all countries were filled by men from a numerically small upper class, regardless of whether the social organization was feudal, mercantile or semi-industrial and whether the form of government was parliamentary, monarchic or aristocratic. This was justified by the ascription of certain abilities to members of that upper class. It was replaced by a performance-oriented mode of reference in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, for two reasons. The first was the general growth of rationalism in Europe from the Renaissance onwards and its increasing influence in the late 18th century. In such a climate, it appeared rather indefensible to 'ascribe' abilities where they could be established by performance. The second reason was the patent failure of 'ascribed' groups in some European countries to deliver the goods. It was most dramatic in France where the decadent *ancien regime* with its tradition of patronage appointments and sale of offices collapsed suddenly. It was more gradual in countries, such as Prussia and Britain, but nevertheless evident.⁵ The most important historical feature, from our point of view, of this replacement of ascription by performance-testing, was that it coincided in time with the spread of democratic institutions. Again, France provides the dramatic example. The fall of the *ancien regime* was followed simultaneously by the rise of two most powerful slogans—that of liberty, equality and fraternity, and that of a career open to talents. In Britain too, the introduction of competitive examinations went on *pari passu* with the enlargement of the franchise. This historical association, not unnaturally, led some to look upon selection by performance tests and

representative democracy as naturally complementary and even corollary. It raised expectations, not altogether logical, that these two, in combination, should lead to a representative bureaucracy. The disappointment implied even in academic discussions about the non-development of representative civil services is largely the result of such a fortuitous historical association. The expectation was not altogether logical, as it was based on the somewhat temporary and sporadic phenomenon of some unrepresentative 'ascribed' groups being replaced in power by more representative groups who had perforce to prove their ability by performance.

Historical developments in U.S.A. followed a different path wherein these implications were sorted out more clearly.⁶ Representative democracy started more or less with a clean slate. Ascription played too insignificant a part in American modes of thought to produce any reaction against it; and the Jacksonian democrats were not without some logic in their rejection of a whole *corpus* of contemporary European ideas and practices. They set their face against the European concept of property in office and instituted rotation in office. As against ascription of abilities to a few noble-born, or finding out abilities by examination performance, they attributed a *minimum* of ability to all citizens, which they declared was ample for the performance of the simple duties of a public office. Conceived as a rejection of decadent European ideas about property in office and the mystique of bureaucratic work, this Jacksonian theory as a whole was self-consistent. Its results were rather mixed. Its immediate consequence was the Spoils System, which withered away in due course. A more lasting effect was a moral commitment to keep the public services in America open to, and representative of, all sections and classes of the general public. This has, since then, influenced all procedures of selection to official posts. *To sum up the different developments in Europe and U.S.A. somewhat sweepingly: in the former, the parallel growth of representative political institutions and performance tests for civil service recruitment raised misplaced expectations about the automatic evolution of a representative bureaucracy; whereas, in the U.S.A., representative political institutions and representative civil services were developed in fact simultaneously and separately by a limited form of government, soft-peddalling the rigour of performance tests.*

So much for the naive expectations of the establishment of representative bureaucracy in the wake of representative democracy; let us now examine briefly the arguments in support of the former. The essential case is that a civil service which includes members of all classes, *therefore*, ensures that all their different values and interests

are articulated and hence brought to bear upon the decisions taken and policies formulated by it.⁷

This argument is implied by some and explained by others. A good example of it is Kelsall's pleading for a wider representation of all classes.⁸ In his view, the attitudes and sympathies of the British civil servant such as "smugness and complacency" and "lack of touch with working class problems" are those of the middle class he is drawn from. He has unconsciously imbibed a sense of superiority to the working class and with no "memory of misery, hunger, squalor, bureaucratic oppression and economic insecurity", his perception as such lacks depth. The greater representation of the working class through various means would make for a truly representative and, *therefore*, responsive civil service. The American proponents are more direct and precise in presenting this case. Thus, Van Riper makes it clear that a representative bureaucracy must "(i) consist of a reasonable cross-section of the body politic in terms of occupation, class, geography and the like, and (ii) must be in general tune with the ethos and attitudes of the society of which it is a part" and he would attribute the success of American democracy, in part at least, to the representative character of the Federal Civil Service.⁹ Norton E. Long goes even further to say that it is "a better sample of the mass of the people than the Congress", that "important interests which are unrepresented or mal-represented" in the American Congress receive "more effective and more responsible representation through administrative channels", that it has saved the democratic process from bogging down and should be duly recognized as America's "great fourth branch of Government".¹⁰

The arguments for representative bureaucracy (or rather guaranteed representation for some unrepresented groups), put forward in India around the turn of the century, followed the foregoing basic pattern with local variations.¹¹ Indian society, it was argued, was really divided into caste and religious groups rather than economic classes. However, these divisions, being based on birth, were more rigid and had more influence on their members than class. The case for equitable and proportionate representation of each caste and religious group was founded frankly on the probability of the sectional sympathies or even sectional loyalties of recruits causing harm to unrepresented sections. The danger was held to be very real in the late 19th century and early 20th century India more than elsewhere because (i) India had a purely bureaucratic form of government with little democratic control, and membership of the civil service meant more power than anywhere else, which power could be used, and was often alleged to be used, by the administrator in favour of one's

community : and also because (ii) membership of the civil service conferred significant financial security, a prize most sought-after in Indian society. It was argued that there was a strong case for the more equitable, *i.e.*, proportionate distribution of the two scarce commodities of power and security, particularly because competition for them was weighted heavily in favour of the more fortunate early starters (the higher Hindu castes) who could deliberately use it to keep out the late-comers.

Thus the basic argument, stated in different ways in different contexts, is that bureaucrats carry their class attitudes and prejudices into their official life and only when all classes or castes are properly represented in the civil service will their different needs and interests find due consideration. Norton E. Long would stretch this further to say that such a representative bureaucracy would make up for the sins of "unrepresentative" political institutions, such as the Congress in the U.S.A.¹²

How good is this basic case founded on the inevitability of one's sympathies for one's class of origin? Of course, Freudians and behaviourists are agreed that childhood influences are long-lasting. There is also plenty of empirical evidence based on research in the U.S.A. to show that the middle and working classes differ substantially in several regards, from toilet training for children to the style of promiscuity, from the nature of their associations to the nature of their ambitions, from their mental disorders to their marital lives.¹³ But all this neglects the existence of deviants from class norms who are there in both the upper and lower classes. We are familiar with aristocrats and rich heirs who have passionate sympathy for the working class, though they may be in a minority. On the other hand, the proportion of deviants among the members of the lower classes, who work their way up, is held by many observers to be very high. Leaving aside the familiar upstart and the climber, they point out that among the founders of Britain's industry in the 19th century, those who came from poor families were not conspicuous for their sympathy to their class of origin and that leadership studies of working class parties and unions reveal the same story.¹⁴ It has been suggested that the men who climb out of the lower classes, the upward-mobiles, *under present conditions anyway*, shed their class sympathies at the beginning of the climb itself. The proven existence of deviants from class norms and the probability of their high proportion among recruits from the lower classes, shakes to the foundation the basic argument for representative bureaucracy.

Besides this, one has still to explain—in more detail than its advocates have done—the process by which a representative bureaucracy

becomes responsive to sectional as well as general interests. If the various classes represented have all different and conflicting interests and if their members in the bureaucracy advocate mainly class interests—in accord with the basic argument—the result is likely to be a divided and even ineffectual bureaucracy. It might work after a fashion on the basis of a hostage theory, according to which bureaucrats of each class do not harm the interests of others for fear of retaliation.¹⁵ Or to think of a less gruesome picture, bureaucrats with different social backgrounds may influence each other by formal and informal contacts and bargaining. This is known to happen, but such mutual influence and bargaining is not half as free as in the open legislative forum between politicians of different persuasions—for it is severely cramped by the hierarchical positions of the incumbents.¹⁶

If the bureaucracy is responsive to general public needs in countries, such as the U.S.A., it is so because the majority of bureaucrats cherish some common values which are part of the nation's socio-political consensus and they also expose themselves to all influences regardless of their class origins. In other words, this responsiveness is more a result of such factors as the consensual and equalitarian ethos of American society than of its mere representativeness. An important element in this consensus is one's general accessibility, regardless of class or position. This exposes the bureaucrat to many prevailing winds of opinion and interest. Indeed, his sensitivity is heightened to public and professional needs because he moves in and out of the Federal bureaucracy frequently into the private practice of his profession or to private enterprise.

To sum up the argument and to state explicitly this writer's own values, a representative bureaucracy makes a modest contribution to the stability of the body politic by promoting a general feeling that the interests of all groups and classes are not forgotten in the increasing number of decisions made by the bureaucracy. But its actual responsiveness to public needs is influenced less by its merely representative character and more by other factors referred to above. It is also much more important that the bureaucracy should be responsive and efficient in a developing country, regardless of its representativeness. This is best achieved by a rigorous selection of bureaucrats by some tests of ability, say through a competitive examination. Let us be grateful if such selection produces a fairly representative bureaucracy, but let us not go madly after it by diluting or manipulating the selection. Such methods have not been suggested by any of the learned critics of unrepresentative bureaucracies.¹⁷ For India clearly, the rigorous selection of an efficient bureaucracy should

be placed far above a concern with its *immediate* representativeness. That will come about gradually and faster than suggested by hasty critics through the widening of educational opportunities for all and the provision of intensive education for the under-represented.¹⁸ Meanwhile, suitable training methods may be tried to make it more responsive.

How useful and significant are the studies of the socio-economic background of bureaucracies ? Two opposite types of criticism are usually levelled at such studies. Some critics feel that they just produce a useless mass of dreary statistics while others are afraid that they provide a handle for partisan propagandists and hasty reformers. The first criticism is usually made of the study of a more or less representative bureaucracy, as in the U.S.A., where economic and historical forces have made all classifications by region, school or father's occupation dull, because each of them is well and proportionately represented.¹⁹ Such a study is as uninteresting as the medical check-up of a healthy person and, perhaps, just as necessary.

The second class of critics are usually vocal in the context of an unrepresentative bureaucracy as in India; they are afraid of ill-conceived reformist zeal being ignited by research revelations about a current but temporary under-representation or over-representation.²⁰ This fear, too, is as misplaced as the earlier criticism of dullness, since partisan guesses and popular rumours usually exaggerate such imbalances in representation well ahead of serious research. A distressing example of their effect is found in Professor Morris-Jones' otherwise excellent account of the Services in which the regional and upper middle class over-representation in the Indian Administrative Service is highly exaggerated.²¹ Even more exaggerated accounts, perhaps, circulate among poorly informed partisan groups and influential politicians. Their replacement by research-based facts and conclusions is a worthy venture in itself and it is doubly useful, in the Indian context, to replace rumour by research. In addition, it helps even senior civil servants, whose general impressions of the situation are broadly true, but vague, to get a precise, correlated picture.²² It is always good to make sure that we really know what we think we know.

II

THE PRESENT SURVEY: ITS SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

This survey of the socio-economic background of India's federal administrators follows the general pattern of the well-known earlier

surveys of the British, French and American higher civil services, but differs considerably in matters of detail, emphasis and approach. These differences derive mostly from the nature of the civil service investigated, the sources of information, the continuous improvement in social background research methods in recent years and the present writer's position as an 'insider'.²³

In contrast to many other countries, there is little difficulty, in the Indian context, in identifying the class of higher civil servants who need to be studied. It may take some time and some inside knowledge to locate the positions constituting the higher echelons of the complex and large American Federal Service, while it is comparatively easier in France to isolate the members of half a dozen important *corps* and easier still in Britain where a single administrative class encompassed nearly all the higher civil services. It is easiest in India where the higher administrators all belong to a small number of Services, to wit, the Indian Foreign Service, the two well-known All-India Services, *i.e.* the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service and ten other Services, compositely called the Central Services. These correspond fairly closely to the British Administrative Class and the French *Corps*, for all of them include only officers of the higher grades and classes. Most of these Services are a legacy of British administration in India and their distinctive characteristic of including only officers of the higher grades and classes was emphasised during British rule by the adjective 'Superior' attached to them to distinguish them from the subordinate clerical and executive Services and several other second-class Services.²⁴ The appellation 'Superior' has now been replaced by the less blatant 'Class I', but the respective Services retain much of their earlier prestige, privileges and characteristics. Of these, the Foreign and Central Services are directly and completely under the control of the Union Government (as the Central or Federal Government of India is called); the former includes the Indian career diplomats in the Indian embassies and the External Affairs Ministry in New Delhi; and the latter embraces all the Class I Services administering central subjects, such as Railways, Customs, Posts and Telegraphs and Accounts. The two All-India Services, namely, the Indian Administrative Service (I.A.S. for short) and the Indian Police Service, (I.P.S. for short) while selected, like the Foreign and Central Services, through the Union Public Service Commission, are assigned to the various State Governments to administer their more important (State) responsibilities pertaining to law and order, land revenue and general administrative co-ordination with the Centre retaining some control over them.²⁵

Thus, the *crucial* administrative work of *both the Union and State Governments* is carried on by the Services studied herein, even though they comprise just a very small proportion of the total administrative personnel of the Union and the States of India. The large body of subordinate Services, while doing important executive work, play no part in policy formulation; the various technical and professional Services of the Union and the States—nearly as well paid as the Services studied here—have not yet made a strong impression in policy matters. The Administrative and Police Services of each State, though increasing in importance, still play a role which is secondary to that of the members of the I.A.S. and I.P.S. therein.²⁶

The membership of each of the Services studied consists broadly of two parts; the major part, referred to as direct recruits, consists of young graduates between the ages of 21 and 25 who are selected for the Services each year on the basis of a competitive examination conducted by the Union Public Service Commission. The other part consists of those promoted from the lower clerical and executive ranks of each Service and others recruited at a mature age directly from outside the Service in various ways. Most of the Central Services contain about 80 per cent of direct recruits and 20 per cent of promoted officers,²⁷ but nearly half the membership of the two All-India Services is made up of mature age recruits, recruited mostly in 1947 and 1956 from the 'open market' and officers selected periodically from the Administrative and Police Services of each State for inclusion in the I.A.S. and I.P.S., respectively.²⁸ This study is essentially concerned with the direct recruits selected through the competitive examinations from 1947 to 1963. This has been done for two reasons. Firstly, the direct recruits form the majority of the Foreign and Central Services and the same would be the case soon with the All-India Services also, due to the progressive increase in direct recruitment by examination and the progressive retirement of mature age recruits.²⁹ Secondly, they set the tone regardless of their proportion.³⁰ But, to complete the picture, it is supplemented by a survey of all the promoted officers of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service and of a random sample of mature age recruits of the Indian Administrative Service.

The total population of direct recruits was studied in the case of the Indian Foreign Service (144) and the Indian Police Service (772), but a large random sample of 392, constituting nearly 45 per cent of the total, was taken in the case of the Indian Administrative Service. In regard to the various Central Services, the total membership of which is about 5,000, a different method was adopted instead of sampling the whole. The total population of the two most coveted (Accounts)

Services and of the two less coveted (Postal and Customs) Services was surveyed so as to cover two opposite ends of the same spectrum. A picture of promoted officers was obtained by investigating the (total number of) promotees to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service. The open market recruits to the I.A.S. were similarly surveyed through a small random sample. These socio-economic background studies were supplemented by a study of the attitudes of a random sample of the older I.A.S. officers and the recruits of the 1963 I.A.S. examination, trained by this writer.

The exhaustively detailed application and attestation forms, submitted by the direct recruits before the competitive examination, formed the main source material of this investigation and these were made available along with other non-confidential documents by the various Ministries of the Government of India.³¹ Along with this, some additional information about the size of the recruit's family was derived from the medical examination reports, where available.³² Details about the performance of each recruit in the written papers and the interview were extracted from the result files of the Union Public Service Commission.³³ The information available from these sources covered practically all the details relating to the recruit's social, educational and regional background as well as his potential for advancement in his Service, as indicated by his performance in the examination.

Let us now discuss briefly the more important characteristics about which information was obtained and start with the recruit's regional origin and affiliation which is highly relevant in the context of a large country with several languages and a quasi-federal form of government. A widespread practice, also followed by the Government of India, is to take the State of domicile as declared by the recruit in his application as a full and final indication of regional affiliation.³⁴ This is quite satisfactory for official purposes, but has shortcomings from a research point of view; it does not disentangle the different components that constitute regional affiliation, nor does it help one to study inter-State movements and involvements meaningfully. In some cases, it is far too much influenced by the applicant's liking for some region as a desirable venue of his future official career. For these reasons, the declared domicile is kept somewhat in the background³⁵ and attention is focussed on four other *factual* categories, namely, the State of birth, the State where the recruit lived at the time of applying, his mother-tongue and the State he wants to work in. These help us to find out factually such things as (i) the movement of recruits born in one State to another well before the examination; (ii) their movement to an examination centre in

another State; (iii) the proportion of recruits whose mother-tongue is different from the language of their birth-State; and (iv) the proportion of those who want to serve in their birth-States or otherwise. These factors give us a deeper insight into the recruit's degree of regional affiliation and disaffiliation than we can have merely from declared domicile. To avoid all possible confusion (involved in earlier researches and official tables) arising out of the reorganization of States and their changing boundaries during the period studied, States were taken as they appear in the map of India after the final reorganization of Bombay into Maharashtra and Gujarat in 1960. Birth places and residential addresses, *regardless of the applicant's statement about the State, were identified on this map.*³⁶ The application of this criterion uniformly for all the years from 1947 to 1963 not only avoids errors concerning the degree of representation of each State; but also gives a more balanced picture of the expatriates speaking a mother-tongue different from the language of the (linguistically organized) State of their birth.

The religion of each recruit is included in his application and plays a rather minor role in this investigation. However, the importance of caste is a matter of dispute. At one end are those who consider it as central in the Indian context and as over-shadowing the 'class' of a recruit as indicated by his father's occupation. There are others who would ignore caste in favour of studying class origins alone. Neither extreme is defensible or realistic in regard to the evolving society of India, where class and caste as well as class-consciousness and caste-consciousness interact in many ways. The majority of recruits are drawn from urban salaried and professional families and would, therefore, be as much exposed to middle class influences and ethos as those of caste. On the other hand, these urban salaried and professional groups are drawn largely from the higher Hindu castes and, to a disproportionately large extent, from the Brahmin caste. This study therefore makes a realistic compromise with the emphasis on 'class' partly because it is slowly over-shadowing caste and partly because it makes international comparisons possible.

Details of the father's occupation are included as a matter of course in the application and attestation forms and are analysed in the same way as in other well-known studies cited earlier. Details about caste, which were included in the applications for the earlier years of 1947 to 1949, were deleted from then on, in tune with the non-discriminatory provisions of India's Constitution. Members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes* could and did identify themselves to claim concessions extended to them. In addition, the Brahmins were identified without much difficulty by caste names and

*Abbreviated form "Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes" is used hereinafter.

other clues. The main information about caste is thus confined to these two extremes, the rest being lumped together. More detailed information about caste was, however, collected about the recruits of 1963, trained by this writer, and of a random sample of the older I.A.S. officers interviewed.

The occupation of the recruit's father is described with reasonable accuracy in his application and attestation forms and a detailed classification was adopted to cover all such occupations.³⁷ In doing this, I have avoided the census categories as well as categories adopted in some earlier investigations as they were too gross or irrelevant. Each category was chosen mainly on the basis of its discrete social identity and attitudes, quite apart from income. The income range of all but three of the categories is narrow enough to mark each off *both in regard to income and social attitudes*. Thus, the higher civil servants, doctors, and chartered accountants (who form the bulk of the 'other learned professions') enjoy a 'good' income by Indian standards, ranging from Rs. 700 to over Rs. 2,000 a month, are conscious of their social prestige and anxious about their children's education and career. Of these, the term higher civil servant corresponds to the class known in India as gazetted officers and is used by preference as being more international. It includes about seven Army officers, four ministers and three princes for the total population studied and these were not classified separately because of their small numbers. The category of university professors and lecturers may have incomes ranging from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,500 a month, but their social prestige is not far below that of doctors and accountants and their influence on their children's education and development is perhaps deeper. The lower civil servants (non-gazetted officers of State and Union Governments and of local government bodies) and school-teachers are further down the income scale, clearly belong to the lower middle class and are both marked by intense anxiety to educate any promising son out of their occupational group into a profession or the higher civil service, with the school-teacher perhaps exercising more influence on his son's education. The town workers and artisans are among the poorest of the population belonging distinctly to the working class and the few sons from such homes have been evidently educated with the help of State scholarships or rich relations. The landowners and farmers have their rural background in common, but the former, being so much richer, can 'urbanize' their sons early through public and convent school education.³⁸ The categories of businessmen and business employees are the least clearly demarcated in regard to incomes which may range from Rs. 200 to well over Rs. 2,000 a month. The large majority, however, would come within the Rs. 200—Rs. 1,000

income group, being either small-town merchants or employees of small business houses. They would be conscious of their somewhat lower social standing in comparison with civil servants and professionals with the same income. There are no truly rich capitalists or industrialists among them and less than a dozen executives of the better known firms.³⁹ There is the same wide range of probable incomes in regard to the lawyers, ranging from Rs. 200 to well over Rs. 4,000 a month. The struggling lawyer may approximate to the school-teacher in social prestige and attitudes, but the arrived lawyer would be closer, in this respect, to the prosperous doctor or chartered accountant. They would have the same interest and anxiety in regard to their son's education and career.

There is much difficulty in classifying the recruits on the basis of their fathers' incomes. This information, not included in the application and attestation forms, was available from the 'descriptive rolls' filled in by the recruits as they began their training, but it was both incomplete and approximate.⁴⁰ To be used effectively, the figures had to be all revalued for a base year to take into account the changing value of money and to be corrected in terms of the size of the family, of which particulars were lacking in most cases. As the classification of fathers' occupations according to our categories gives a good enough composite picture of the fathers' financial and class status as well as social prestige and attitudes, no serious attempt was made to include fathers' income as a separate characteristic in the main study. It was, however, included in the detailed study of the recruits of 1963 who were trained under this writer.

Full details of each recruit's schooling and university education were available in the application and attestation forms and the educational characteristics studied included: (i) the type of school attended; (ii) the class of the university; (iii) the type of college attended; (iv) the main subject read for the first, second and third degrees respectively; and (v) the class or division obtained in each degree. Schools were classified into public, convent, Christian missionary, non-Christian missionary, and other schools. Only member-schools of the Public Schools Conference (35) were regarded as public schools and these correspond broadly to their British counterparts in their methods and traditions.⁴¹ There was no authentic list of all the convent schools, but the well-known ones were recognized easily. These schools, run by various Catholic educational orders, use the English medium of instruction and build up an ethos different from the public schools and a competence in English equal to theirs. The Christian missionary schools refer to large boys' schools and some girls' schools run by missions, where the medium need not be English

and where teaching standards are not strikingly above average. The non-Christian missionary schools would include those run by Hindu missions like the Ramakrishna Mission, or Arya Samaj, Khalsa schools run by Sikhs, and a few Muslim schools. All of them exercise some religious influence over their charges. The vast majority of schools in India would come in the last category of 'other' schools run by State Governments, local bodies and secular school boards.

Foreign universities were classified into Oxbridge or Redbrick, and Indian Universities were broadly classified into three classes: 'A', which includes the Universities of Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Allahabad, Punjab and Delhi; 'C', comprising the very young universities—less than ten years old; and 'B' including all the rest. This classification was partly suggested by the results of an earlier survey and justified in actual use, as the majority belong to A, very few to C, and the rest to B.⁴² This author also suspected, through his acquaintance with the 1963 batch of trainees, that a good many were educated in a few famous colleges of which a list was made as comprising the better colleges. The study reveals that the majority of recruits who perform better come from such colleges. Indeed, if the list had been made a little longer—with the benefit of hind-sight—to include ten more colleges, it would have embraced almost all the recruits to all the Services studied.⁴³ The main subject offered for each degree is classified under thirteen broad headings, with the category of History including a *small number* of allied and off-beat subjects.⁴⁴ Further details available about the recruits' extra-curricular activities and accomplishments, such as scouting or training with the National Cadet Corps, games, office-bearing in school and college societies and knowledge of languages, were also included in the study.

An important part of this study is concerned with the recruits' performance in the competitive examination. It is, of course, interesting in itself to relate their performance to their regional and socio-economic background and education, but it derives greater interest for this study as it gives a fair indication of their probable rates of advancement in their respective Services. The actual rate of advancement to higher positions can be discovered only by tedious follow-up studies over a number of years and any suggestion to relate it to the recruits' socio-economic background or education may still be complicated by other factors.⁴⁵ As things are, there are two main (time) scales of salaries, Junior and Senior, in each Service and progress in both proceeds rather smoothly on the basis of seniority with real competition starting rather late, that is, half-way up the senior scale. Seniority is determined mainly on the basis of rank obtained in the examination. In classifying recruits, if we also take into account the number of

attempts made to get into a given rank level, we get the best available measure, for the time being, of their potentiality for future advancement. Towards this end, recruits are classified into 'alphas', or those coming within the first 25 ranks in the first attempt, 'betas', or those coming within the first 25 in the second attempt, or second 25 in the first attempt and 'gammas', or those coming within the first 25 in the third attempt or second 25 in the second attempt or third 25 in the first attempt—the rest being lumped together as 'others' or 'deltas'. This classification, based not simply on success, but success in relation to the expenditure of energy, is as much an index of social advantage as of potential advancement.

In addition to the study of this index and its relation to socio-economic background, performance in the written papers and interview were studied separately—the former in relation to academic achievement in the university and the latter in relation to education in public schools and better colleges and participation in some extra-curricular activities. Both the written examination and interview performance were related to each other. All these exercises yielded some insight into the effectiveness of the examination itself, apart from its relation to the socio-economic background of recruits.

A study of the social and political attitudes of recruits is a necessary complement to a study of their socio-economic background; we may find out correlations, if any, between the two and confirm, disprove or modify popular assumptions, such as those about the middle class civil servant's suspicion of big and quick doses of reform. Such a study was made of the recruits of 1963 trained under this writer and of a small random sample of the older I.A.S. officers was taken up through a detailed questionnaire, which included questions about their socio-economic background and about their hobbies and attitudes to social, economic and political problems of the day.⁴⁶ The questionnaire was answered in writing by the recruits of 1963, but was used only as a basis for conducting detailed interviews of the older I.A.S. officers in the random sample. In both cases, my personal knowledge of the recruits, through teaching the younger ones and meeting the older officers, has helped in putting all that information into proper perspective.

The mass of material thus gathered from application and attestation forms (about 2,000), questionnaires and interviews (about 200) was processed through the sorter and computer by the usual methods on I.B.M. cards on which information about each recruit was punched. Various tables were made, interrelating the characteristics considered more important from the viewpoint of the social scientist and the lay reader. Broad typologies were attempted, combining the more important characteristics.⁴⁷

It will not be amiss to say a few words of explanation about my mode of presenting the information in the succeeding chapters. The text of each of these interprets every major point of interest in the tables presented so as to obviate, for the general reader, the need for frequent references to them except for finer details. This, however, loads the text with an unaesthetically large quantity of figures. To add to this, I have woven the contents of a number of simple tables into the text itself, as in the case of Chapter VII, without presenting the tables at all. I can only hope that the advantages of this way of presentation would outweigh the disadvantages.

I have compressed the material into as few tables as possible; the major ones are comparative and the other tables are presented in such a way as to facilitate comparison. No complicated matrix tables are printed as such. As for two-way tables in general, I have not again included the co-efficient of (bi-variate) correlation at all for two reasons. In the first place, it is *prima facie* very low, though positive in many cases, so that the actual figure is of only technical interest. Secondly, the presentation of the co-efficient might suggest some idea of the probability of the two characteristics concerned being found together among future recruits. This suggestion would be misleading mainly because of actual changes in the mode of recruitment after the completion of this study and other changes contemplated at the moment. For example, the proportion of interview marks to the marks in the written examination was changed after the completion of the study and an important change in regard to the media of the competitive examination is under active consideration. All these changes would bring an entirely new set of premises into operation and render all simple projections from the past misleading in the extreme. It is, therefore, better to regard the tables as simply representing "a majestic mountain of fact" about the actual examination recruits from 1947 to 1963 correlated and integrated in some meaningful way. As they will, anyway, form the core of the higher civil services for some years to come, this exercise is justified on that score.

There are two ways of organizing the processed information into chapters. It could be by subjects, such as regional affiliations and father's occupation, each subject chapter dealing with all the Services studied. The other way could be according to Services—a chapter to each Service or group of Services, with subject sub-headings mentioned earlier. The latter method was chosen, in spite of its shortcomings, for good reasons. In the first place, each Service, such as the I.A.S., I.F.S., I.P.S. or the Accounts Services, has a separate identity in the official as well as the public mind, based partly on its tradition and partly on its specialized work.⁴⁸ The I.A.S. is successor to some of

the glamour of the 'heaven-born' I.C.S. which 'ruled' India for a century. The I.P.S. inherits the different traditions of a 'uniformed' Service, with its origins close to the Army. In each case, tradition has fostered an *esprit de corps* and preserved their identity. Moreover, Indian officialdom is now more or less committed to the idea of organizing higher civil servants into various Services with assured wide-range salary scales and careers for their members—in preference to the American system of positions or jobs carrying specific duties and narrow salary scales. The firm hold of the 'Service' concept can be illustrated by a few instances. The Constitution of India is concerned with the organization and regulation of Services (Chapter 1, Part XIV), but not of Departments. Article 309 empowers the Union Parliament and the President to create Services for the Union and regulate their salary, work and conditions. It similarly empowers each State Legislature and State Governor to create and regulate State Services. Article 312 recognizes the two All-India Services already formed in 1947, namely the I.A.S. and the I.P.S., and enables the Rajya Sabha (the Council of States) to create, by a resolution with a two-thirds majority, a new All-India Service. Under the powers conferred by Article 309, several Services of the Union have been created or reorganized. Similarly, new All-India Services have been created under Article 312. The politicians and the Press have asked from time to time for the creation of some new Service, witness the demand of the Socialist leader, Jaya Prakash Narayan, in the late forties for an Economic Service (which was created later). Over and above this general commitment to the concept of Services and the tradition and *esprit de corps* of each Service, each of them has also become sufficiently specialized in its work. This makes it rather difficult to integrate different Services into any new framework. Lastly, the competitive examination is somewhat different for the three Service groups, though it is held at the same time, as a combined examination for all Services.⁴⁹ Candidates for all the Services take three compulsory papers in General Knowledge, General English and Essay for a maximum of 150 marks each. Candidates for the Police Service offer, in addition, two optionals chosen out of 27, for a maximum of 200 marks each. Candidates for the Central Services offer three optionals chosen from the same list. Candidates for the I.A.S. and I.F.S. have to offer two more advanced level optionals out of a list of 15, for a maximum of 200 marks each. The interview, or the Personality Test as it is called, carries 300 marks for the Police and Central Services examination and 400 for the I.A.S. and I.F.S. It is clear that the examination makes different demands in the matter of intellectual and social accomplishments from candidates for the different Services

and favours different personality types in each case. Devoting a chapter to each Service or group of Services is just recognizing the stubborn facts recounted above.

On the other hand, it became clear, even during the preliminary stages of this study, that all these Services draw broadly from the same urban middle class, nearly the same regions, universities and colleges and that differences between them are largely differences of degree. Full note is taken of these facts in writing each chapter. A detailed account is given of the Indian Administrative Service. In the later chapters, references to similarities are kept brief, while the differences are more clearly brought out. The common characteristics are treated again together in the last chapter, so as to highlight them and reinforce the general conclusions of this study.

It became evident quite early during my investigations that organizing the information year by year would not be meaningful. On the other hand, it was clear that a distinct watershed existed in 1956-57. Before 1956, the members recruited were not many and they had all to score a minimum of 35 per cent in the interview; and recruits from the Sc. Caste and Sc. Tribes were few and far between. After 1956, the numbers recruited increased fast, the compulsory minimum for the interview was abolished and there was a rapid increase in the number of recruits from the Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes. Recruits to each Service are, therefore, divided into two periods, namely, 1947-1956 and 1957-1963. The classification reveals many important changes in the composition of recruits. This is supplemented in Chapter VII by a comparison of the recruits from the examination of 1947 and 1963⁵⁰, which shows up more dramatically the important changes that have occurred during the period of study.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. The following standard works are referred to :

R. K. Kelsall, *Higher Civil Servants in Britain*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1955.

T. B. Bottomore, "Higher Civil Servants in France", *Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology*, Vol. II, 1954.

Warner, Van Riper, Martin and Collins, *The American Federal Executive*, Yale U.P., 1963.

2. R. K. Kelsall, *Op. Cit.* pp. 8-9. Re : Popular French criticisms of the French Civil Service, see T. Feyzioglu, "The Reforms of the French Civil Services since 1945-57", *Public Administration* (London), Vol. 33, pp. 75-78.

3. Warner *et al. Op. Cit.*, p. 2.

4. Re : the two modes of reference, see Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, Tavistock, London, 1952, pp. 63-65.

5. Re : the gradual introduction of the middle class element in British administration, see Kingsley, *Representative Bureaucracy*, Chapter seven. Re : Prussia, see H. Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy, Autocracy and Aristocracy*, Harvard U.P., 1958.

6. This paragraph is based upon Paul Van Riper, *History of the United States Civil Services*, Row, Peterson & Co., Evanston, Illinois, 1958, Chapter 3.

7. The argument becomes stronger, the greater the power of the Civil Service.

8. R. K. Kelsall, *Op. Cit.* pp. 189-193.

9. Van Riper, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 459-559.

10. Norton E. Long, "Bureaucracy and Constitutionalism" *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 46, pp. 808-818.

11. For further details and references regarding the Indian arguments, see V. Subramaniam, "Graduates in the Public Services—A Comparative Study of Attitudes", *Public Administration*, (London), Vol. 35, pp. 377-378.

12. Norton E. Long *Op. Cit.*, see in particular the latter half of the article.

13. Re : the several differences in attitudes and customs of the middle and working classes, see Harold M. Hodges (Jr.), *Social Stratification : Class in America*, Schenkan, Cambridge, Mass, 1964, the two chapters on Values and Behaviour, and the chapter on Social Class and Social Intimacy.

14. Regarding the lack of class sympathies among successful men from the lower classes, see Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties*, Chapter III, Section III and Kenneth Robinson, "Selection and the Social

Background of the Administrative Class'', *Public Administration* (London), p. 388. All this evidence is impressionistic and Hodges produces no evidence about deviants to rebut this impression.

15. For a version of the hostage theory, see *Speeches and Writings of Mohammed Iqbal*, Speech in the Punjab Legislative Council, July 19, 1929.

16. Re : hierarchy and the inhibition of free communications see Blau and Scott, *Formal Organization*, Chandler, 1962, pp. 121-124.

17. The farthest which Kelsall goes is to suggest more promotions from the Clerical and Executive classes and secondment from professional cadres (see Chapter Ten, R. K. Kelsall, *Op. Cit.*). Curiously enough, these two methods have been adopted in the British Civil Service by sheer force of circumstances than as part of an effort to make the Administrative Class more representative. In India, the first method has many serious shortcomings while the second is advocated in the following chapters for reasons other than making the Services more representative.

18. The analysis in the chapters that follow shows that this is already happening. See in particular Chapters VII & VIII.

19. See J. W. Grove's review of Warner *et al*, *The American Federal Executive in Public Administration*, (London), Vol. 42, p. 321. Dr. Grove's criticism is against statistical dreariness as well as providing 'statistical verification for things we know already'. The second criticism is dealt with in footnote 22. The answer to the first criticism is that statistics cannot change a basically uninteresting picture, though they can be presented in meaningful ways. How much this type of research is worth in money and effort is a question I would not like to answer in general terms. I may add that the total cost of *this* piece of research was in the vicinity of Rs. 15,000 and my time was equally divided between research and teaching eight hours a week over the year I was in India. It cost me about six months' labour in Australia later in processing and drafting.

20. Several persons pointed out to me the possible side-effects of my research and in particular the wrong type of partisan attention that may be brought to bear on over-represented regions and communities.

21. W. H. Morris-Jones, *Government and Politics in India*, Hutchinson University Library, London, 1964, p. 122. The exaggerations are based, I guess, on a biased sample survey of more senior members in the Capital, and are completely off the mark regarding the I.A.S. It is more so in regard to the other Services. Unfortunately, this supports some exaggerated rumours and, interwoven as it is with the best account of the Services by a leading scholar, it is likely to do much harm unless it is contradicted specifically by name.

22. A very senior civil servant, dealing with the applications, felt that he had built up a picture of the regional and social composition by going through these details every day. This process will give a reasonable picture only under certain conditions and is heavily subject to (a) the vagaries of the process of conditioning—on the individual's mind subjected to other stresses and (b) the strength and reliability of the individual's memory. Conditioning experiments, including only a pair of stimuli, show how the total impression made by X positive stimuli and Y negative stimuli would depend heavily on the order and frequency in which these two occurred.

23. As mentioned in the introduction, I was Professor at the National Academy of Administration, the training centre for all the Class I Services, for 13 months from August 1964 to September 1965. I took part in the training of two batches of direct recruits, numbering over 600, selected through the examinations of 1963 and 1964 and I came to know them well and love them all. I had free access to official documents and was welcome to interview all the senior Civil Servants I chose. To give my own background to the reader, I was born a Brahmin—a community which is over-represented in the Services—and was educated in two of the better colleges, the alumni of which are over-represented too. All this means (a) that I could collect more material more easily and in a shorter time than some learned investigators in other countries and, secondly, (b) that I was an 'insider' in two senses as a member of the training staff and as one with a background similar to that of the direct recruits. On the other hand, I had spent several years before joining the Academy, outside India, teaching and conducting research in Australia and the U.K. I believe this gave me more detachment than possible for a pure 'insider'.

24. Some Class II Services are also recruited through the same combined competitive examination as the Class I Services, but they are not included in this study.

25. The control exercised by the Union Government is both direct and indirect. Thus, the conditions of service are laid down by them—in consultation with State Governments. They also control secondments to the Union Government—which are sought after by many—and transfers to another State in cases of incompatibility. The officers in general try to please both their State and Union Governments, but even to help the former, it is necessary to enjoy a good standing with the latter.

26. The more efficient officers of the State Administrative and Police Services are in the normal course admitted into the I.A.S. or I.P.S.

27. The various Central Services continued their recruitment during the Second World War—and as their membership was mainly Indian, they lost very few British officers in 1947 as the I.C.S. did. So there was no need for them to resort to open market recruitment.

28. Thus, the total membership of the I.A.S. (January 1964), consists of 2,123, of which 985, (46.4 per cent), are direct examination recruits. For further detail, see Chapter VII and VIII.

29. In fact, this is already happening to a substantial extent. In 1957, the proportion of non-direct recruits was much more than half and it is much nearer half now. With the retirement of members of the old I.C.S., forming about 8 per cent, and a similar percentage of mature age recruits by about 1975 or earlier, and the annual recruitment of 150 directly by examination, the proportion of the latter will come closer to 75 per cent by then.

30. By this, I mean that the examination recruit is usually considered the norm to approximate to—in official circles anyway.

31. The application forms changed in regard to details during these years, but contained more than fifty entries all the time. The attestation forms (attested by a local magistrate or equivalent officers) gave some supplementary information. The files of each recruit also included copies of educational certificates and testimonials.

32. These were available for the Indian Audit and Accounts Services for most years and for some years for the I.A.S. and I.P.S.

33. The detailed results of all candidates, both successful and unsuccessful, were available with the Union Public Service Commission. There were a few cases (very few in fact) in which, because of confusion in the candidate's names, the marks and rank could not be attributed with certainty. Such doubtful cases are kept out of the relevant tables. The applications and attestation forms of unsuccessful candidates from 1959 onwards were also available with the U.P.S.C.

34. This is done for legal reasons and considerations of convenience. The Ministry is not unaware of the shortcomings of this practice for research purposes. The earlier work of R. K. Trivedi and D. N. Rao, unfortunately, followed this procedure in their two papers "Regular Recruits to the I.A.S.—A Study", *Journal of the National Academy of Administration*, Mussoorie, Vol. V and "Higher Civil Service in India : A Sample Survey", *Op. Cit.*, Vol. VI.

35. Tables based on domicile were made by the Home Ministry.

36. It is absolutely important to follow uniform State boundaries for all the years from 1947 to 1963—on the basis of the re-organised

map of India of 1960—to make any significant statement about over-representation or under-representation. Moreover, a large number, born in the pre-1956 multi-lingual States, would go unaccounted for as inter-State affiliates unless the post-1960 State boundaries were uniformly adhered to. It is important to isolate such groups accurately, as they are both over-represented as well as talented. No note is taken of the creation of Haryana since the final draft of this book was completed earlier.

37. This classification was adopted in preference to some standard international classifications as more suited to Indian conditions and to the subject studied. As pointed out in the text, the categories are based compositely on income, attitudes, social prestige and identity. The classifications adopted in the Trivedi-Rao Report and the Pillai Report on the Indian Foreign Service were considered too few and gross for the purposes of finding out class dominance or under-representation.

38. In some cases, it was fairly easy to distinguish between the rich land-owner and the poorer farmer by details given in the application, but in others it was not. In all such cases of doubt, they were included as poor farmers. It is quite possible that a larger proportion of the farmers than what is indicated in the tables is not so poor.

39. The sons of these executives are found in the I.F.S. As revealed by my survey of business executives in five big firms, a good proportion of their sons tend to join these firms or the professions rather than the civil services. This survey is being published by the All India Management Association.

40. The descriptive rolls are available mostly for the latter half of the period under study. The incomes given are fairly accurate in the case of sons of higher civil servants and Army officers, but would be rather speculative in the case of professionals and businessmen.

41. The list of public schools, which are members of the Public Schools Conference of India, is given in the Appendix. The earlier researches possibly used a much vaguer definition of public schools, thus inflating the percentage of their alumni among the recruits.

42. The earlier survey referred to is that of D. N. Rao and R. K. Trivedi. It helped this survey in getting a preliminary idea of the area to be covered and its parameters.

43. If ten colleges like the Hindu College, Delhi, and Hislop College, Nagpur, had been added to the list, about 95 per cent of the recruits would have been covered.

44. About 5 per cent of those included in this category would have offered such unusual subjects.

45. For example, Kenneth Robinson, *Op. Cit.*, claimed that promotion in the British Administrative Class depended heavily on the openings in the officer's department and very little on his social antecedents or education.

46. In addition to the questionnaire, a general test, based on Ferguson's suggestion that one's public personality may be analysed in terms of attitudes to religion, punishment and nationalism, was also administered. The results were inconclusive and are not included in this study.

47. The sixty-one punched columns on the I.B.M. card account for about forty different characteristics. If each characteristic were separately related to every other, the number of possible tables would be in the vicinity of 1600. Some of these inter-relations would be pointless, many of interest only to a limited official audience and about forty of interest to the general reader and the social scientist. The composite standard tables at the end were chosen partly by following the example of pioneers such as Kelsall, Bottomore and the Warner team and partly by a commonsense selection of the more important and interesting correlations in the Indian context. More specialized tables may be constructed from my cards for official purposes. A fuller set of over 200 tables is available with the Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi. There is no set or ready-made computer programme for evolving typologies, which are still discovered largely by trial and error. The usual procedure is to take a hard look at the more important two-way tables and isolate substantial aggregates in contiguous cells, which are 'clustered', and the code is simplified (collapsed) so as to include such clusters into one category. By using such a collapsed code for each important characteristic, the tables are reconstructed and are placed in succession so as to have one common characteristic for two proximate tables.

As I have indicated in the various chapters, there is very little combination of advantages except in the Foreign Service. The broad typology is the obvious one of middle class domination.

48. Suggestions have been made from time to time for a single unified service from various quarters both in and out of the civil service, but so far they have not been taken up seriously.

49. The details of the examination, as given, describe the position up to 1963. Changes have occurred in the proportion of interview marks since then and other changes are being contemplated.

50. The years given throughout this book refer to the years in which the examination was taken successfully by the recruits.

2. THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE

The Indian Administrative Service (I.A.S. for short) is successor to the famous 'heaven-born' Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.) and inherits much of its prestige and professional ethics.

Following the formation of the Interim Government at the Centre under Shri Nehru, in 1946, it became clear that power would be very shortly transferred to Indian hands. As the need to revamp India's administration was urgent, the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, consulted the State Chief Ministers at a conference and made arrangements for the stoppage of recruitment to the I.C.S. by the Secretary of State for India in London and for the creation of a successor Service, the I.A.S., to replace it.¹ Right from its birth, a recurring problem of the Indian Administrative Service was that of adequate recruitment to man its depleted ranks. The initial depletion was caused by the resignation or retirement (with compensation) of British members of the I.C.S., and the emigration to Pakistan of many of its Muslim members. Since then, increased recruitment was further necessitated by the expanding tasks of a Government Committed to economic planning. The problem of recruitment was met broadly in two ways. The annual intake of young men between 22 and 25, through a competitive examination, was progressively increased and recruitment was also undertaken from the 'open market' from an older age-group with experience of different fields. As a result, the latter group is slightly larger than the group of younger direct recruits numbering 985. It is composed (as in June 1964) of (i) surviving members of the I.C.S. (172), (ii) Second World War Commissioned Officers (89), the special recruits of 1948 (95 from the open market and 61 from the Services of State Governments) and 1956 (89 from the open market and 131 from the Services of State Governments) and (iii) promotees from State Governments' Services (379), besides the recruits of the State Services Extension Scheme of 1949 (105). These together make up a total of 1,138, including the odd seventeen from the service cadre of Jammu and Kashmir. The large size of this conglomerate group is a temporary phenomenon. The dominant group, in a few years' time, will be that of the direct recruits, whom we are studying in detail here.²

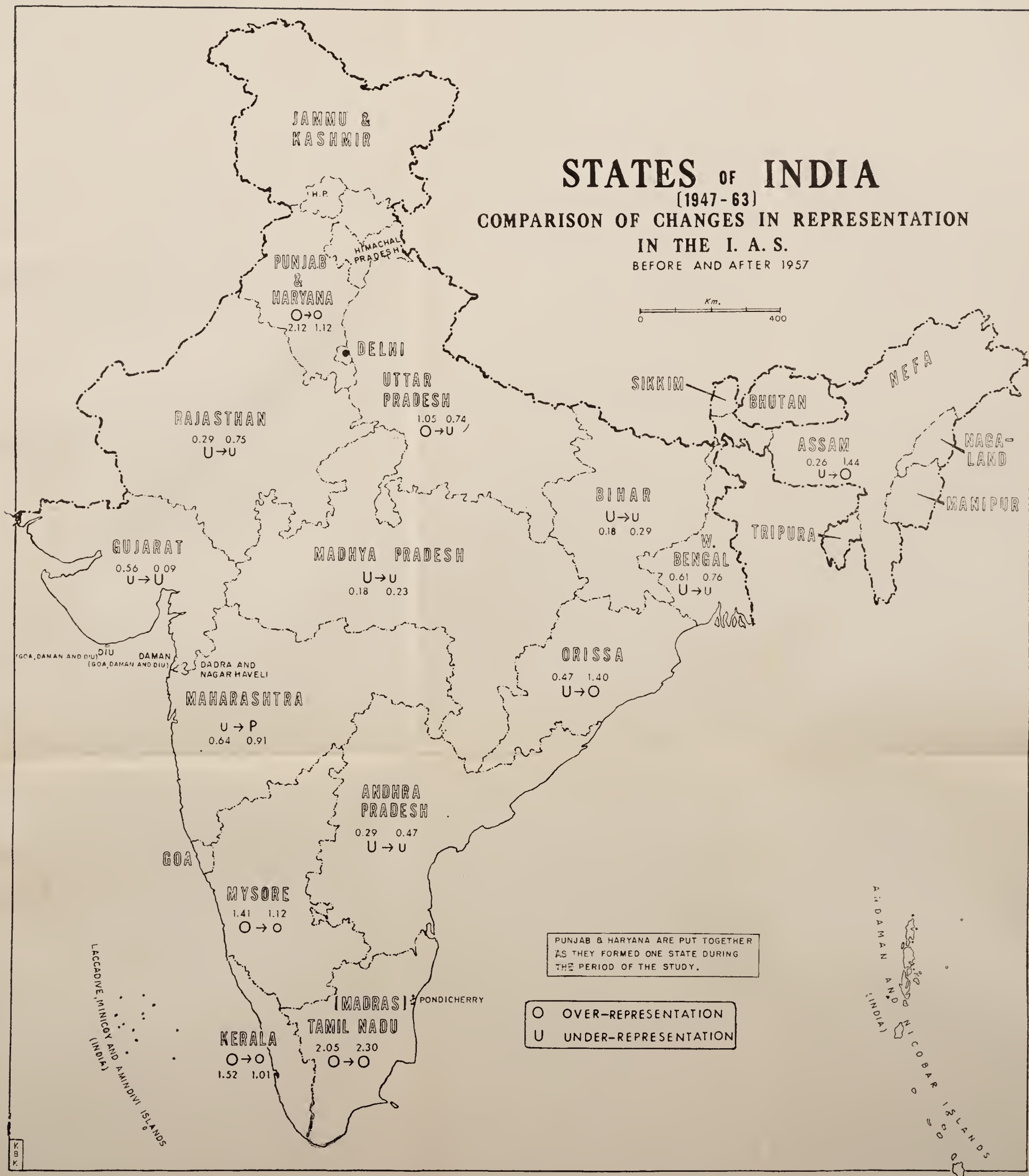
Distribution by States and Languages

Table 1 gives us the distribution of recruits to the Indian Administrative Service according to their States of birth for the periods of

1947-56 and 1957-63 respectively. It is obvious that there are striking imbalances in this distribution, as measured by the representation coefficient,³ *i.e.* the ratio of the percentage of recruits born in a State to the percentage of India's population therein. For the 1947-56 period, the States of Kerala, Mysore, Madras and Punjab are over-represented; the displaced persons from Pakistan and those born in Delhi are strikingly over-represented.⁴ As against this, the States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and even Maharashtra and West Bengal are considerably under-represented, while Uttar Pradesh just holds its own. The picture has changed in some regards in the next period. The States of Kerala, Madras, Mysore and Punjab are still over-represented, but to a lesser extent. The displaced persons and those from Delhi are still strongly over-represented, but Assam and Orissa have progressed from under-representation to over-representation. Rajasthan has increased her representation by almost three times. Maharashtra has come into its own, Uttar Pradesh has lost somewhat, while Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh are still under-represented, in spite of a considerable increase in their representation by the first two.

The coefficient of representation for each State is not consistently related either to the percentage of literacy in each State or to the number of higher educational institutions in the State.⁵ It is thus not easy to account for the degree of representation of any State in a simple way. It is possibly the result of a combination of factors, chief among which would be the higher educational opportunities and standards and a tradition of preparing for the higher civil service. A study of unsuccessful candidates later in this Chapter, reveals that they are distributed very much in the same proportion as the successful ones in regard to their States of birth (as also in respect of mother-tongue and father's occupations). This means that each State succeeds to the extent to which it can produce competing candidates—amongst whom talent distribution seems to be fairly similar for all States. The focus is thus shifted to the capacity of each State to provide higher educational opportunities of proper standard and to generate a tradition of preparing for the higher civil service.

We can only make a plausible guess at the favourable or unfavourable factors operating in the case of most States. Thus, the over-representation of Madras, Kerala, Mysore and Punjab would be mainly accounted for by the availability of higher education of quality and a tradition of preparing for the higher civil service. The high share enjoyed by the Delhi-born would be explained by a combination of these two factors in a high degree together with the selective migration into the capital city of talented members of the middle class. The



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displaced persons from Pakistan have, in addition to these two main factors, developed perhaps some initiative from their trying experiences of India's partition and emigration from their familiar environment.⁷ The under-representation of West Bengal needs some explaining as her higher educational facilities are just as good and her tradition of seeking entry into the higher civil service just as deep-rooted as in the over-represented States. It may be partly due to the increasing attraction of engineering and medical studies for the brighter students who are thus withdrawn from the mainstream of potential candidates for the civil service. It may be due, partly, also to the availability of other good avenues of employment for the brighter graduates who might otherwise have competed.⁸ Both these are likely to operate in other States too, though, perhaps to a lesser extent. The under-representation of States, such as Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh, is accounted for by the poorer facilities for higher education in the former and the lack of a long-established tradition of seeking entry into the higher civil service, in the case of the latter. An established tradition of commercial enterprise and looking for commercial avenues of employment probably accounts for the low representation of Gujarat. The increased representation, during the second period, of Assam, Orissa and Rajasthan may be attributed to a steady increase of higher educational facilities and keenness to compete for the higher civil service. In the case of Assam, a part of the increase results from the recruitment of candidates from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in that State under special provisions.⁹ The increase of Rajasthan may be, at least partly, due to the new interest of the old landed families in the higher civil service.

The classification of recruits by their mother-tongue is more significant, as it is a more important factor in deciding their regional affiliation.¹⁰ Table 2 makes it clear that there are imbalances in the representation of language groups—broadly similar to the imbalances based upon the State of birth. For the first period of 1947-56, the speakers of Tamil, Punjabi, Bengali and Malayalam (corresponding broadly to the States of Madras, Punjab, Bengal and Kerala) are clearly over-represented, most other language groups are considerably under-represented, while the Gujarati-speakers and Hindi-speakers almost hold their own. The discrepancies between representation by language and representation by State of birth are not difficult to explain. The Bengali speakers are over-represented although the State of West Bengal is under-represented. This is so because many Bengalis born outside Bengal or displaced from Pakistan and settled in other States have competed more successfully than their cousins in West Bengal itself. Conversely, Kannada speakers are under-repre-

sented, while the State of Mysore is over-represented because her contribution of recruits includes a considerable number of Tamil speakers born within her borders. The representation of the Hindi-speaking population is much lower than the representation of the chief Hindi-speaking State of Uttar Pradesh, because the language embraces the under-represented States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Gujarati speakers are well represented (while there is low representation for Gujarat), as they were all born outside Gujarat—in Maharashtra or Bengal.

There are no great changes in the second period of 1957-63; the Gujarati language has lost in representation, while other language-groups, such as Marathi, have just increased their representation. Telugu, Kannada and Assamese have progressed significantly, the last moving dramatically from under-representation to over-representation. The increase in Assamese is partly due to the recruitment of Assamese-speaking candidates from the Scheduled Tribes of Assam under special provisions—which also accounts for the striking increase in the representation of speakers of tribal languages.

Significant imbalances thus exist in regard to both State-wise and language-wise representation. To put this in its proper perspective let us add that such imbalances in regional representation are found in economically advanced countries too—except where they are provided against, as in the United States.¹¹ It is commonly believed that the Welsh and Scots are somewhat over-represented in the British Civil Service. The county of Cork is accused of taking a lion's share of the Irish Civil Service. In France, the strong over-representation of the Paris region has not been reduced considerably even after the civil service reforms of 1947. In the Australian Federal Service (*e.g.* the Commonwealth Public Service), the State of Victoria is clearly over-represented.¹² All this does not cause much flutter in any of these countries. It is true that the United States provided for regional representation in the last century, when regional loyalties were still strong,¹³ but a later-born federation like the Australian Commonwealth had no need to make such provision. The Constitution and laws of India too have rightly discountenanced any provision for regional representation in the Services of the Union.¹⁴

Regional imbalances do cause some sourness in the under-represented regions of India, but there is little reason to worry unduly about it. In the first place, as we have shown (later), each State gains representation broadly to the extent to which it can produce candidates with better tertiary education and better motivation to compete for the higher civil services.¹⁵ Secondly, some States, such as Assam, Orissa and Rajasthan, have—within the last few years—increased their

representation significantly by augmenting their educational opportunities and presenting more candidates. There seems to be no reason why this process should not spread to the other under-represented States, in course of time. An even more important third factor overshadows regional imbalances, for, over a third of the recruits are involved with more than one State either by way of residence, employment or education in a State other than their State of birth or by way of speaking at home the language of another State. We will now analyse this inter-State involvement of the recruits through various two-way tables.

Inter-State Involvements

Table 3 relates the State of birth of each recruit to his State of residence at the time of applying for the examination. It is clear from it and Appendix IV that several recruits for the period 1947-56 did not stay in their birth-State at the time of applying for the examination, for, if most of them did, there would be a concentration of them along the diagonal from the top left to the bottom right. Instead, we find a good number of 44 away from the diagonal—quite apart from the 27 recruits who were displaced persons from Pakistan and are distributed over several States of India. Even excluding the displaced persons, a third of the recruits were already staying outside their State of birth well before the examination. The proportion has increased slightly in the next period. Excluding the 42 displaced from Pakistan, 73 recruits (about 40 per cent of the remaining 192) were resident outside their State of birth well ahead of the examination.

The significance of these movements may be played up or down depending on the criterion applied. It can be argued that, in the case of many candidates, such movement is temporary and their hearts are not with them at their place of residence. But it is hard to see how such staying out of the birth-State (which is rarely shorter than a year) can help affecting the candidate in some way or other. Some candidates go out of their States to recognized centres of higher education in other States, (*e.g.*, the Oriyas who go to Allahabad or Calcutta or the Andhras who go to Madras). In these cases, the effect is bound to be more than skin-deep. In many other cases, candidates from States with a proportionately large job-seeking population (such as Kerala or Madras) go to the distant cities of Bombay, Calcutta or Delhi in search of jobs well before the examination. There were a few cases in which the candidate was born in a State where his father, a senior civil servant, was posted and the family had since moved on to another State on the father's retirement or transfer. Whatever be the reasons for movement, its effect on the recruit cannot be ignored

against the backdrop of the static majority of the country's population.¹⁶ This highlights an important characteristic of the recruits, namely, their country-wide orientation, resulting from their employment and education outside their State and their diluted local affiliations.

There is a lot more of inter-State movement to the more popular examination centres. According to Table 5, barely 35 candidates took the examination at centres in their States of birth or in the neighbouring States. In other words, about two-thirds of the successful candidates (or three-fourths excluding the displaced persons from Pakistan) took the examination quite far away from their birth-States. Delhi has been the most popular centre, attracting about a third of the successful candidates. The picture has altered slightly for the next period, with a slightly higher proportion taking the examination in their own States of birth. Still, over a hundred candidates (apart from the displaced persons) took the examination in centres far away from their States of birth. Delhi, again, attracted 69 out of the 234 successful candidates.

A more significant way of looking at inter-State involvements¹⁷ is to compare the recruit's mother-tongue with his State of birth, as is done in Table 4. According to the former, covering the period 1947-56, about a fourth of the recruits (43) born in various States claim a mother-tongue different from the language of the State. This excludes the 27 displaced from Pakistan, some of whom speak languages other than Punjabi and Bengali. In the next period, nearly the same proportion (52 out of 234) speak a language at home different from the State language—and this number again does not include the 42 displaced from Pakistan. Many of these—whose mother-tongue is different from the State's language—were born in the formerly multi-lingual States of Madras, Bombay (Maharashtra) Madhya Pradesh and Kerala.

Relative Mobility

Among the recruits with inter-State involvements, those displaced from Pakistan come first in regard to their degree of involvement. They have not only moved from one sovereign State to another, but seem to keep on moving from one State of India to another too. The Keralites, in keeping with the popular impression about them, have gone out in good numbers from their State of birth. In the 1947-56 period, five out of nine had moved out by the time of the examination—two to Madras, one to Bihar, one to Rajasthan and one to Delhi. The Mysoreans were slightly ahead of the Keralites during this period, with eight out of twelve moving out—six to Maharashtra, one to Madras and another to Delhi. As for others, three out of the seven born in Bengal had moved out, and so had six out of the 27 born in

Madras. The same groups were equally mobile in the next period. Of the 42 displaced persons, nine and fifteen moved into the border States of Punjab and Bengal, respectively. The rest had moved on to Gujarat, Maharashtra, Delhi and even Madras. Among the others, five out of nine Keralites moved out of their State and so did four out of the nine Andhras. The Madrasis and Maharashtrians were more mobile, with 17 out of 41 Madrasis and eight out of 19 Maharashtrians moving out. A good many of these were drawn to the capital city of Delhi. Indeed, only two out of the twenty-six resident in Delhi for the period 1947-56 and two out of 42 for the period of 1957-63 were born there.

Delhi attracted many more as an examination centre. Indeed, a third of the successful candidates, during both periods, took their examination there. The smaller examination centres, such as Trivandrum, Bhopal, Simla and Jaipur, drew the smallest number. The two big cities of Calcutta and Bombay attracted equal numbers from their own State and from outside, while most candidates from Uttar Pradesh went to Allahabad. On the whole, two-thirds of the successful candidates took their examination well outside their State.

Linguistic Pattern

We have noticed earlier that about a fourth of the recruits speak a language different from the language of their State of birth and that a good number of them are to be found in the States of Maharashtra, Madras and Kerala, which were carved out of former multi-lingual States. Looking at them in detail, three out of 27 born in Madras in the 1947-56 period spoke at home a language other than Tamil and three out of 41 did so during the second period. In Kerala, three out of the nine born during the first period did not speak Malayalam at home and the figures are the same for the second period too. In Maharashtra, four out of nine during the first period and six out of 19 for the next, spoke at home languages other than Marathi. Looking at the figures another way, the Tamil speakers were born all over India—one in Andhra Pradesh, two in Kerala, three in Mysore, and one in Burma, making a total of seven (out of 31) born outside Madras during 1947-56 period. In the next period, three were born in Andhra Pradesh, one in Assam, two in Kerala, one in Madhya Pradesh, four in Mysore, one in Uttar Pradesh, and one in Burma, making up 13 out of a total of 51 Tamil-speaking recruits.

All in all, for both periods, a significant proportion of recruits were involved with more than one State or language; about a fifth of them speak at home a language other than the language of their State of birth, a third had already gone to stay in another State a year before

the examination and two-thirds took the examination at centres outside their States of birth. Avoiding double counting of those who have both (the first and second) characteristics, we have 61 recruits who live outside their State of birth or speak a language other than its language (with some doing both). Then, there are twenty-seven displaced persons—out of 158 recruits studied for the first period—and 85 of the former and 42 of the latter (out of 234 studied) for the second period. In other words, about half the recruits are anything but stay-at-homes.

Senior administrators in India are not unaware of this feature in a general way, but it has been casually taken for granted and not assessed till now.¹⁸ It would however be a grave mistake to miss its significance, particularly under Indian conditions. Against the background of a poor economy and a low level of literacy, the inter-State involvement of half the recruits would compare very favourably with inter-regional mobilities of civil service recruits in other countries of comparable size, such as the United States of America with all her educational facilities and her flourishing economy. This is certainly something to be thankful about in recruiting an All-India Service.

Encouraging Features

In fact, there are other features to be thankful about too. First comes the fairly similar proportion of candidates of higher and average calibre among the recruits from each State. We have noted that though some States are over-represented and others under-represented in terms of their populations, each State is broadly represented to the extent to which it can produce competing candidates. Add to this the fact that the quality of recruits from different States does not vary all that much as the recruits from different States are distributed in reasonably similar proportion among the various rank levels for the first period.¹⁹ Pitting both these factors against the apparent imbalance in the distribution of recruits among various States, there is room for inferring that they are drawn from the same broad class and similar personality types in all States, some of which produce more of them for the time being than others. The hope is raised that the under-represented States can, in due course, produce more of the same type of recruits—as Orissa and Rajasthan have already done.

Let me repeat the refreshing conclusion that emerges from this detailed distribution study. Notwithstanding the current imbalances in distribution some under-represented States are already catching up. Moreover, a significant proportion of the successful candidates (nearly half) are involved in more than one State or language and the distribution of better and ordinary candidates among the recruits from

different States is broadly similar, even as the ratio of successful to unsuccessful candidates is. There is good reason, therefore, to suggest that the recruits are drawn from a somewhat migratory and perhaps homogeneous middle class.²⁰

Fathers and Sons

The occupation of the recruit's father is considered by all investigators in this field as a crucial determinant of one's social background. This emphasis has two related aspects. Some see in it a (limited) index of social mobility in regard to the higher civil service. The questions of interest to them are : (1) What proportion of the recruits is drawn from the middle class and the working class, and (2) What proportion is drawn from each professional or salaried sub-class in the middle class?²¹ Ultimately, coefficients of representation and inter-class and sub-class mobilities are worked out—a higher mobility coefficient often being considered a mark of progress. Other investigators seek to find out—in addition to mobility—how the attitudes of the civil servants are affected by their social origins. For example, one can see whether the recruits from middle class professional and employee homes exhibit the supposedly middle class characteristics of timidity and competitive individualism and whether those from working class homes show some special attributes, such as pragmatism and cooperativeness. This study has concentrated mainly on the first aspect of working out the representation of different occupational categories among the recruits and comparing their educational qualifications and their performance at the examinations. A limited study, however, has been made—in Chapter VII—of the social and political attitudes of a random sample of the older officers and of the fresh recruits of 1963.

Table 6, classifying the recruits according to their fathers' occupations, reveals straightaway a marked imbalance in the representation of various occupational categories. It is clear from it, for both periods, (a) that the salaried and professional middle class as a whole is over-represented, (b) that every sub-group of this class, such as civil servants, business executives, teachers, university professors and lecturers, doctors and lawyers, is over-represented in greater or lesser degree, and (c) that the sons of farmers and workers are very much under-represented. The coefficient of representation reaches extremely high values for some groups—unlike, perhaps, in any other country—such as lawyers, higher civil servants and university teachers.²² The coefficients for the other middle class occupations too seem to be higher than elsewhere. The overall picture is one of middle class domination, but there are some small, though significant, changes in the second period. The representation of civil servants is somewhat

lower and the representation of the salaried and professional middle class as a whole has come down slightly, while that of farmers and workers, still very low in terms of their proportion in the population, has nearly trebled. However, a part of this increase arises from the Government's policy of recruiting (under special provisions) Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates whose fathers are generally farmers, workers or artisans.

To see this picture of imbalance in its proper perspective, we should take note of some other relevant facts. In the first place, the majority (about 85 per cent) of higher civil servants in many other countries, both developed and developing, are drawn broadly from the same middle class and nearly the same occupational and professional groups as they are in India.²³ Secondly, each occupational group in India is represented among the recruits roughly in proportion to the number of candidates it presents for the examination, as shown later in this chapter. This would mean that the distribution of success-proneness in the examination is not so different among the various occupational groups. Only, the middle class occupations present more candidates in proportion to their population than the workers and the peasants do. This is so for obvious reasons, such as their greater stress on education and individualism. The middle class, therefore, gets a far higher representation. One is led to hope that, as soon as other occupational groups are willing and able to present more candidates in like manner, they too would get a better representation. Thirdly, if we analyse the occupations of the paternal grand-fathers of the recruits (see Appendix V), one finds a more equitable representation of the lower occupational groups among them. This modifies to some extent the picture of middle class monopoly which emerges from an analysis of fathers' occupations alone and presents a new picture of greater social mobility *vis-a-vis* two generations which corresponds broadly to the position obtaining in some other societies too.²⁴ Lastly, the picture of the dominance of urban occupational groups needs also to be modified in the light of an analysis of the rural affiliations of the recruits of 1963.²⁵ While it is clear that only an extremely small number (12 out of 98) have all the five characteristics of rural affiliation, it is also clear that everyone has at least one characteristic and a very large majority of 96 have two characteristics. Admitting that such affiliations are quite marginal, it still does modify the picture of absolute urban dominance which one infers from the analysis of fathers' occupations.

Let us now analyse the recruits from these occupational groups in terms of their educational attainments and examination performance (Table 10). The broad picture for the first period is one of very similar advantages enjoyed by all groups—with minor variations. Taking

the sons of the higher civil servants first, we find that, for the period 1947-56, 7 out of 52 (a higher proportion than in any other occupational category) have been in public or convent schools. In fact, they account for four out of a total of six (in all occupational groups) who went to public schools. Twenty-nine out of 52 (nearly 56 per cent) secured first classes in their first degree (of which 13 were first-class Honours); and 35 (two-thirds) took second degrees in which eight former second classes secured first classes. Their total of first classes thus comes to 37 or 71 per cent. Twenty-eight of them (about 54 per cent) were educated in the better colleges. Their performance in the competitive examination was slightly better than that of other groups; 25 out of their total number of 52 (about 48 per cent) coming within the first 25 ranks and 24 (about 46 per cent) in the next 25; the majority of them (12 plus 23) belong to the 'alpha' and 'beta' groups, the 'alphas' being those who get into the first 25 ranks in the first attempt and the 'betas' being those who get into the first 25 in the second attempt or into the second 25 in the first attempt. At the interview, they have performed better than other middle class groups (except the sons of lower civil servants)—18 out of 52 (about 35 per cent) getting above 50 per cent marks.

The sons of lower civil servants have nearly the same characteristics—except in regard to public-school education. None of their 26 went to a public school, but five have been to convent schools; 15 of them (58 per cent) had first classes in the first degree (of which 6 are Honours first classes); and 18 of them (nearly 70 per cent) took second degrees, among whom six former second classes secured first classes. Their total of first classes (21) constitutes over 80 per cent of their total number. Seventeen of them—a higher proportion than in any other group—attended the better colleges. In the interview too, they have performed better than other groups, 10 out of 26 (about 39 per cent) getting more than 50 per cent marks. They are slightly worse off, however, in regard to ranks, ten getting within the first 25 ranks (about 39 per cent) and 12 within the second 25 ranks (about 46 per cent). There are only two 'alphas' but sixteen 'betas' among them.

The sons of professionals (such as doctors, lawyers, professors, accountants and a few school-teachers) too have very similar characteristics. While none of their 44 went to a public school, six had been to convent schools; 26 of them (about 59 per cent) secured first classes in their first degree (of which 12 were Honours first classes) and an additional four got first classes in their second degree, making a total of 30 first classes (about 70 per cent). At the examination, 19 came within the first 25 ranks (43 per cent) and another 19 (43 per cent) within the second 25. They did well in the interview, fifteen

(about 34 per cent) getting more than 50 per cent therein. They did generally better than higher civil servants' sons, by having 15 'alphas' (about 34 per cent) and 11 'betas' (25 per cent) among themselves.

The few sons of businessmen and of business executives who were recruited are not very different from the foregoing groups. One, out of 26, went to a public school and two to convent schools. Thirteen of them secured first classes in the first degree, another three who were second classes got first classes in their second degree, making up a total of 16 first classes (about 62 per cent). Their performance in the examination was just as good : 13 (50 per cent) secured ranks within the first 25 and another 10 among the second 25; and they have 11 'alphas' (about 42 per cent), the highest percentage in any group, and 5 betas. Their performance at the interview is perceptibly worse, five alone (about 19 per cent) getting more than 50 per cent therein.

The sons of farmers, while few in number, are not very different. One, out of seven, has been to a public school; one went to a convent school; four of them secured first classes in their first degree; and three secured first classes in their second degree. In the examination, however, they have performed slightly worse than other occupational groups; none of them gets more than 50 per cent at the interview. However, four come within the first 25 ranks and the other three within the second 25.

The representation of the middle class as a whole has decreased slightly for the 1957-63 period with a corresponding increase in the proportion of farmers' and workers' sons—but the characteristics of each middle class group remain broadly the same with an overall decline in the educational attainments of all groups. Starting with the sons of higher civil servants, we notice that they have done clearly better than all other middle class groups. Seven out of their number of 62, had been to public schools and another eight to convent schools; 33 of them (53 per cent) secured first classes in their first degree (of which 14 were Honours first classes) and eight second classes secured firsts in their second degree. Their total of first classes (41) is thus over two-thirds of their number. Forty of them, a significantly higher proportion (about 65 per cent) than in any other group, had attended the better colleges. Their examination performance is nearly as good as in the earlier period, 28 (about 45 per cent) getting within the first 25 ranks and 16 (about 26 per cent) getting within the second 25. Thirty of their 62, a rather high proportion, obtained more than 50 per cent of the marks at the interview. Fifteen (24.2 per cent) were 'alphas' and 17 (27.4 per cent) were 'betas'.

The lower civil servants' sons, during this period, were worse off in some regards. Only one, out of the 40, went to a public school and five had attended convent schools. Nineteen (47.5 per cent) obtained first classes in their first degree; and 27 (67.5 per cent) had taken a second degree in which four former second classes secured first classes—making a total of 23 firsts (57.5 per cent). Only half their number attended the better colleges. At the examination, seventeen (42.5 per cent) got over 50 per cent at the interview; there are four 'alphas' and seven 'betas' among them.

Of the 62 sons of professionals, two have been to public and seven to convent schools, making up a good 14.5 per cent among them. A high proportion (61.3 per cent) of them have attended the better colleges. Twenty-seven got first classes in their first degree, and ten more of them in the second degree, making up 59.6 per cent of first classes. At the interview, seventeen (27.4 per cent) secured over 50 per cent of the marks; there are four 'alphas' and thirteen 'betas' among them.

Of the 34 sons of businessmen, three have been to public schools and five to convent schools making up a good 23.5 per cent with special schooling. But they have done less well in their degrees; there are only nine first classes among them (26.5 per cent) in their first degree and an additional eight in the second degree—making up half their number. In the examination too, they got only five 'alphas' and eight 'betas'. However, they have done better at the interview with 16 of them (47 per cent) securing over 50 per cent in it.

The 29 sons of farmers (including two poorer tenants-*cum*-small scale landowners) come off much worse than all the middle class groups. Not one of them has gone to a public or a convent school; only eight have obtained first classes in their first degree and of the 11 who took second degrees, three former second classes got first classes, making a total of 11 (38 per cent) firsts. Fifteen (51.7 per cent) attended the better colleges. Their performance at the examination is clearly poor; only two got within the first 25 ranks and five among the second 25; all but one got less than 40 per cent at the interview and there is only one 'alpha' (and two 'betas') among their 29. Their larger representation as well as poorer performance seem to relate to the fact that 13 of them belong to the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes and have been recruited under special provisions. Indeed, 11 of them made use of the age-concessions and all the 13 were recruited on the special list from far down the scale of ranks.

The small group of seven sons of artisans and workers enjoy no advantages whatsoever. None of them has been to a public school or convent school, only one of them has got a first class and only one of

the seven has been to one of the better colleges. Only one of them got within the first 25 ranks, the other six being included in the special list—far down the rank-scale. These six belong to the Scheduled Castes, of whom four have used the age concessions extended to them.

To sum up, most recruits of the first period have enjoyed nearly the same educational facilities and the same degree of examination success, regardless of their father's occupations. But there is a sharper differentiation in the second period; the sons of lower civil servants did worse than the sons of higher civil servants and the (under-represented (farmers' sons who did as well as the other groups in the first period came off rather badly in their examination performance in the second period. The explanation is not far to seek. The numbers recruited were fewer during the first period and no special provisions were extended to recruit candidates from the socially backward communities. The quality was both high and more uniform, since the *best* from every group tend to look alike. When more people are recruited, social advantages tell, particularly with the second rung of good candidates. Thus, the son of the lower civil servant (who is not among the top 25) compares less than favourably with the son of a higher civil servant among the second 25. The son of the prosperous farmer or zamindar who went to a public school and a better college did as well as others in the first period. But the son of the poorer farmer (or even a well-to-do farmer), belonging to the socially backward castes, has not had similar advantages in education and upbringing and comes in by way of special provisions and concessions.

Religion and Caste

The representation of various religions and castes in Table 7 offers no surprises; the Hindus are very slightly over-represented and all the religious minorities, except the Muslims, are clearly over-represented. As for the castes, the Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes have picked up in representation in the second period after special provisions concerning their recruitment were put into active operation by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Brahmin over-representation in both periods flows out of their centuries-old educational tradition, their early success with Western education and their entrenchment in all the occupations of the middle class. However, it has been toned down over the decades of this century from near-monopoly to mere over-representation. It is not uniform throughout India; they would constitute over 80 per cent of all recruits from Madras, nearly 40 per cent in Maharashtra, progressively less in Bengal and U.P. and very much less elsewhere. From the more detailed break-up of the recruits of 1963 according to caste, it is clear that, next to Brahmins, the higher Hindu

castes, such as the Khattris in the North and the Nairs in the South, get a large share of the I.A.S. vacancies.²⁶

Education

The Indian Administrative Service has a rather modest proportion of public and convent school boys, a proportion much lower than in the Foreign Service. Six of the 158 in the first period (1947-56) went to public schools and another 17 to convent schools, making up barely a sixth of their numbers; in the second period, 13 of a total of 234 went to public schools and another 24 to convent schools, making up even less than a sixth of their numbers. But, though the public and convent school alumni are numerically unimportant in the I.A.S., the majority of them have done better than the other recruits. We shall see later, in our analysis of examination performance, that the majority *i.e.* 16 out of 23 (in the first period) and 19 out of 37 (in the second period) of these alumni are among the 'alphas' and 'betas', *i.e.* the top performers.

The college and the university play a more important part than the school. The majority of recruits in both periods (79.1 per cent in the first period and 69.7 per cent in the second) come from the six older and better known Universities of Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Punjab and Allahabad (see Table 8). The Madras University dominates the picture during both periods, with the Punjab and Delhi Universities running close. Looking more closely into the performance of the Universities (with the help of Table 15) we find that nearly three-fourths of the alumni of the Madras University are first or second class Honours graduates—which partly accounts for their success. Secondly, most of them, that is, 37 out of the 62 in the first period and 50 out of the 53 in the second, also come from the three better colleges in the city of Madras. In regard to the distribution of ranks, however, no university enjoys any dominant advantage.

More than half of the recruits, that is, 89 out of 158 in the first period and 136 out of 234 in the second period, (see Table 9) were educated in about a dozen famous city colleges in India. Significantly enough, these alumni form a higher proportion of the best recruits *i.e.* of 'alphas' (68.3% in the first period and 68% for the second period) and 'betas' (54% in the first period and 70% in the second period). Put in another way, out of the 89 alumni of better colleges in the first period, over two-thirds (61) were 'alphas' and 'betas', and out of the 136 of the second period, 53 were 'alphas' and 'betas' and 23 'gammas'—together constituting about 57 per cent. *The significance of education in the right college is unmistakable.*

Among the Services, the I.A.S. nearly gets the pick of the academic basket, if we go by its bag of first classes. In the first period, ninety

got first classes in their first degree and another 23 in their second degree, making up 71.5 per cent of the 158; in the second period, 97 got first classes in their first degree and another 34 in their second degree, making up about 56 per cent (see Table 16). The fall is accounted for partly by the increased intake from below the 75th rank or even 100th rank and the inclusion of a substantial number of Sc. Caste and Sc. Tribe candidates from the special list. But the top recruits are still largely first class; the 'alphas' of the first period all had first classes and so did 84 per cent of the 'alphas' of the second period; and 82.5 per cent and 80 per cent, respectively, of the 'betas' of both periods had first classes too. The fall in standards is really among recruits below the fiftieth rank.

This fall is, however, matched by an all-round fall first in the number of candidates competing, from 6,572 in 1959 to 4,005 in 1964 in spite of the increase in the number of graduates turned out by Indian universities. Secondly, the percentage of first classes among the candidates fell from 20 in 1956 to seven in 1962.²⁷ All this is *prima facie* some cause for concern. But it is puzzling to note that, at the same time, the coefficient of success among first class graduates appearing has increased from 3.58 to 8.06. One is not sure whether one should worry about the fall in the percentage of first class graduates among the recruits or pat oneself on the back for getting more success-prone first class graduates to compete or should one start worrying about the standards of the written examination which seems to be letting in more first classes of lesser quality? The phenomenon is too complex for simple wailing.

In general, there is no need for alarm, rather some need for careful research. A first class by itself does not mean much—as its standards seem to vary very widely from one university to another and from one subject to another. Thus, science and mathematics graduates among the recruits have a higher proportion of first classes (see Table 16) and the second class Honours graduates of Madras seem to fare just as well as first class pass graduates in regard to ranks.²⁸ Moreover, there seems to be no close correlation between a first class and performance in the written examination, according to Table 20. Further, a larger number of recruits (106 out of 158 in the first period and 140 out of 234 in the second period) take a second degree, thus broadening their horizons—even if only less than a fourth of these achieve first classes in it. Lastly, there is a not-so-negligible proportion of first classes among the unsuccessful candidates—even if this is much lower than among the successful. All told, it is safer to rely on the uniform marking and ranking in an India-wide competitive

examination than on first classes from different universities in different subjects with different standards.

The really disturbing question is whether enough of the best available material is *offering* itself to be examined. Quite apart from the fall in the number of candidates and their formal educational attainments, we have already noted earlier that it is likely that more and more of the brighter school-leaving students have been, over the last two decades, going in for scientific, engineering and medical studies. They are thus mostly withdrawn from the mainstream of competitors for the higher civil services. The increasing proportion of first classes among science and engineering graduates, as against their decreasing proportion in the humanities, is partly an indication of this trend.²⁹ As a result, the technical services of the Government of India and the managerial cadres of the better private firms, depending more on professional graduates, have a higher proportion of first classes than the the I.A.S.³⁰ But the academic quality of recruits has not gone low enough to justify panic, nor are any immediate and easy remedial measures possible at the recruitment level. The true remedy consists partly in raising standards of university education and, partly, in winning back for administration, at a later stage in their career, a proportion of the brighter engineers and other professionals.

Performance in the Competitive Examination

We shall look into two aspects of the performance of recruits in the examination : we will class them in terms of the rank achieved in relation to the number of attempts made and study the characteristics of the different groups. We will then analyse the relationship between performance in the written papers and in the interview and the factors (if any) that contribute to better performance at either.

In the first period (1947-56), 71 recruits (44.9 per cent) achieved ranks within the first 25, another 70 (44.3 per cent) within the second 25 and the rest (17) secured ranks between 51 and 150. The I.A.S. is thus predominantly a service of the first 50 in the first period. This has changed in the second period, with 60 (25.7 per cent) out of 234 securing the first 25 ranks, 53 (22.7 per cent) the second 25 and another 60 (25.7 per cent) the third 25 with some more in the fourth and fifth 25's and a few in the special list. The first 50 make up less than half (48.4 per cent), but the first 75 would form about 71 per cent and the first 100 would make it up to nearly 82 per cent. This change in composition was inevitable when more than 50 were recruited into the I.A.S. even as early as 1956, with the tide swelling to 100 and over from 1961 onwards. Besides this, some among the first and second 25's were lost through the increased intake of the Foreign Service. The recruitment of a substantial quota of candidates from the

Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes from 1956 onwards from the special list also decreased the number recruitable from among the first 100. The change in the composition of a Service from the best 50 to one of the best 100 need not, however, be looked upon as a great fall in standards in view of the factors cited.

A deeper analysis of the recruits can be made by classifying them into four categories : (1) the 'alphas', who come within the first 25 ranks in their first attempt, (2) the 'betas', who come within the first 25 ranks in the second attempt or second 25 in the first attempt, (3) the 'gammas' who come within the third 25 in the first attempt or second 25 in the second attempt, or first 25 in the third attempt, and (4) all the others forming the group of 'deltas'.³¹ In the first period, there are 41 'alphas' (25.9 per cent), 63 'betas' (38.6 per cent) and 34 'gammas' (21.5 per cent) out of 158, constituting the bulk of the recruits. In the second period, there are 31 'alphas' (13.7 per cent), 47 'betas' (20.5 per cent) and 37 'gammas' (15.8 per cent) with another 88 in the category of 'delta' and 29 from the special list. The fall in the number of 'alphas' and 'betas' is related to the different lengths of the two periods and there is no great deterioration that way, but the sharp decline in the *proportion* of 'alphas' and 'betas' to the total for the second period is the result of the two factors mentioned earlier, to wit, the increasing numbers recruited each year and the reservation of a proportion of the total vacancies for Sc. Caste and Sc. Tribe candidates.

Let us look into the characteristics of these groups in some detail with the help of Table 23. Of the 41 'alphas' of the first period four were convent-educated and one public-school educated. Twelve were sons of higher civil servants (28.6 per cent), 15 (35.7 per cent) of professionals, 11 of businessmen and business employees and two of lower civil servants. Twenty-eight of them (66.7 per cent) were educated in the better colleges of India; 31 of them secured first classes in their first degree, and all the rest got first classes in their second degree. Thus, the 'alphas' of the first period come socially from fairly high but less exclusive origins than the I.F.S. recruits, but have done better academically. The 63 'betas' of the first period are fairly similar—perhaps with more of them from up the social scale but with less academic achievements. Twenty-three of them (36.5 per cent) are the sons of higher civil servants, 11 (17.5 per cent) of professionals, five (7.9 per cent) of businessmen and business executives, five (7.9 per cent) of farmers, 16 (25.4 per cent) of lower civil servants and three of artisans. Four of them went to public schools and seven to convent schools and 33 of them (52.4 per cent) went to the better colleges. Thirty-four of them got first classes in their first degree and

another 18 in their second degree, making up a majority (82.5 per cent) of first classes. To sum up, both the 'alphas' and 'betas' of the pre-1957 I.A.S. have a smaller proportion drawn from the upper middle class, but have a significantly better academic record than their counterparts in the Foreign Service.

Things have changed considerably in the second period. The 31 'alphas' of the period (1957-63) include 15 sons of higher civil servants (48.4 per cent), five sons of businessmen (16.1 per cent), four sons of professionals (13 per cent), one of a farmer, one of an artisan and five (16.1 per cent) of lower civil servants—with all but the last seven belonging to the upper middle class. Three went to public schools and seven others to convent schools. Twenty-one (67.7 per cent) were educated in the better colleges, 19 got first classes in their first degree and another seven in their second degree, making a majority (about 84 per cent) of first classes. Of the 47 'betas', 17 (36.2 per cent) are sons of higher civil servants, eight (17 per cent) of businessmen, 12 (25.5 per cent) of professionals, two of farmers, one of an artisan and seven (14.9 per cent) of lower civil servants. Five went to public schools and another four to convent schools and 32 (about 70 per cent) to the better colleges. Twenty-seven got first classes in their first degree and another ten in their second degree, making up a majority (about 80 per cent) of first classes. The 'alphas' and 'betas' of this period are fewer in numbers and have a slightly higher proportion coming from the upper middle class than those of the first period—with a significantly larger proportion of those with a socially exclusive education—but their academic record is less impressive. Of the 37 'gammas', 15 (40.5 per cent) are sons of higher civil servants, ten of professionals (27 per cent), five of farmers (13.6 per cent) and six of lower civil servants. One went to a public school, five to convent schools and 23 (62.2 per cent) went to the better colleges. Sixteen got first classes in the first degree and ten others in the second, making a little over two-thirds of first classes. The 'gammas' are not socially very different from the 'alphas' and 'betas', but academically less impressive.

Anyway, the 'alphas', 'betas' and 'gammas' have a much smaller proportion of the sons of higher civil servants and public and convent school boys compared to the Foreign Service, but they have been mostly educated in the better colleges. As for first classes, the 'alphas' of the first period are all first classes either in the first or second degree while 80 per cent of the 'betas' and over 66 per cent of the 'gammas' claim first classes. *Thus, the best of those who enter the I.A.S. are drawn less from the upper middle class, have fewer with a socially exclusive education, but have performed significantly better at the university than members of the Foreign Service.*

The Interview

The interview, referred to officially as the personality test, occupied the same position in the scheme of competition for the I.A.S. as it did for the I.F.S. till 1963, with 400 marks set apart for it against 1,450 for the written papers. But, unlike the recruits to the I.F.S., the recruits to the I.A.S. are mostly those getting below 50 per cent in the interview. The I.A.S. is clearly not an interview-oriented service as the I.F.S. is.

Let us analyse the relationship between marks in the written papers and the personality test with the help of Table 24. In the first period, the majority form a compact group scoring between 50 and 65 per cent in the former and between 35 and 75 per cent in the latter. This core-group of 149 (embracing 94 per cent of the recruits) falls into the two sub-groups of those getting below 50 per cent at the interview (numbering 100) and those getting over 50 per cent (numbering 49). There are only nine outside this group, consisting of five 'bookworms' getting over 65 per cent in the written papers and below 50 per cent at the interview, one 'confident talker' getting about 70 per cent in the interview and three who perform equally poorly in both, getting below 50 per cent in the written papers and below 40 per cent in the interview. The abolition in 1957 of the compulsory minimum of 35 per cent for the interview, while leaving the I.F.S. untouched, has produced radical changes in the composition of the I.A.S. recruits. There are 46 out of 234 (19.7 per cent) getting below 30 per cent at the interview, including one who gets zero and another fourteen on the borderline of 35 per cent, all the sixty of whom might have been kept out altogether under the old rules. There are also great changes in the distribution of the rest into groups. The old core-group of those scoring 50 to 65 per cent in the written papers and 35 to 75 per cent in the interview has shrunk to 162 (about 65 per cent), but the proportion of those getting above 50 per cent in this core-group has increased to 87. Outside this group, one finds a confusing variety. There are two 'confident talkers' scoring over 50 per cent in the interview and under 45 per cent in the written papers, fourteen 'not-so-slick talkers' scoring below 50 per cent in the written papers and between 35 and 50 per cent in the interview, two getting 55 to 60 per cent in the interview and 65 to 70 per cent in the written papers, six 'bookworms' getting over 65 per cent in the written papers and below 20 per cent in the interview and four other 'bookworms' getting between 40 and 50 per cent in the interview. There are six getting below 50 per cent in the written papers and below 35 per cent in the interview and there are 35 getting between the normal 50 to 65 per cent in the written papers, but less than 30 per cent in the interview. The original

simple composition with one core-group and two sub-groups has been replaced by a weird pattern. The differences *vis-a-vis* the Foreign Service have been accentuated in the second period.

If we classify the recruits on the basis of interview marks into I (who get over 60 per cent), II (who get 45–60 per cent), III (who get 30–45 per cent) and O (who get below 30 per cent), we find 25 Is (15.8 per cent), 46 IIs (29.0 per cent) and 87 IIIs (55 per cent) in the first period and 39 Is (15.4 per cent), 96 IIs (41 per cent), 53 IIIs (22.6 per cent) and forty-six Os (20 per cent) in the second. In both periods, this distribution with a majority for II and III is fundamentally different from the distribution in the I.F.S. When we look for factors correlating with good interview performance, we do not find any clues. Public or convent schooling seems to play no part, nor education in a better college, nor scouting nor N.C.C. No one factor correlates significantly with the marks at the interview, which is rather puzzling as the foregoing factors bear some relation to the interview performance of recruits to the I.F.S.

An Overview

The majority of the recruits to the I.A.S. have already toned down their local affiliations by the time they sit for their examination; they come largely from an urban middle class, but not so much from its higher echelons as the Foreign Service does; indeed, a fourth of the I.A.S. consists of the sons of lower civil servants, school teachers and less prosperous small-town lawyers who are distinctly lower middle-class. There is less of exclusive schooling and the number educated in foreign universities is very small (9) for both periods. The main part is played by the better Indian colleges which educated over 60 per cent of the total recruits and a much higher percentage of the 'alphas', 'betas' and 'gammas'. Their academic achievements are higher than those of the recruits to all the other Services; three-fourths of them are first classes in the first period (in the first or second degree) and about two-thirds in the second period, while the 'alphas' and 'betas' claim an even higher proportion. The vast majority of recruits formed a rather compact core-group in the first period, with a high performance in the written examination and a moderate one at the interview. This group has shrunk in the second period to two-thirds with several motley groups making up the rest. The Service could have been called a compact, a regional middle-middle-class, Indian college-educated, academically first-rate Service of moderate interviewees in the first period. It is hard to describe briefly and specifically the mixed bag of recruits from 1957 onwards.

THE UNSUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES

To understand the characteristics of success, one must study their incidence among the unsuccessful candidates as well. To this end, we shall make an analysis of a random sample of 162 unsuccessful candidates at the 1961 and 1962 I.A.S. Examination who were not called for interview. As the majority of the 5,000 to 7,000 candidates are unsuccessful, we also get an idea of the general run of candidates from this sample.³²

Distribution by States and Languages

Table 32 gives us the distribution of these unsuccessful candidates according to their States of birth and mother-tongue, respectively. Most interesting is the fact that the proportion of unsuccessful candidates from each State or each language-group is fairly close to the proportion of successful recruits from each State or language-group in most cases. In other words, States and languages which are over-represented among the final recruits also account each for a proportionately larger percentage of candidates appearing at the examination. This feature cuts down to size the distorted picture of the over-representation of some States and some languages. The success coefficient worked out in the tables gives us a fair measure of the success-proneness of different States and languages in the examination. It is reassuring to find that, in the case of most States and languages, it rarely falls below 0.6 (except in the case of Bihar, Gujarat and Delhi) and rarely rises above 1.3. This fairly equal success-proneness also agrees with our earlier surmise that the best candidates from different States and language groups are, perhaps, drawn from an extremely similar class. The hope is raised that those States or language-groups which send proportionately fewer candidates to the examination can raise their representation in the Services if they can prepare more candidates to compete.

The few exceptionally high success coefficients are easily explained. Madras and Rajasthan have exceptionally high coefficients. Of these, the latter is a somewhat doubtful figure being based on small numbers. The Madras coefficient is probably based upon a consistent combination of factors, such as the easy availability of university education of high standard, a long tradition of competing for the examination and the presence in Madras of four of the dozen better colleges in India. The high coefficient of the displaced candidates from Pakistan is, perhaps, a result of their highly developed initiative, besides the good university education they obtained in Delhi or in the Punjab. Kerala's over-representation among the recruits is seen to be based largely upon the extra-ordinary keenness of Keralites to compete in large numbers.

Among languages too, the success coefficients are fairly equal and rarely fall below 0.5. The success coefficient of Tamil speakers follows closely the success coefficient of the State of Madras and is, perhaps, based on the same reasons. The Gujarati and Bengali languages have higher success coefficients than the States of Gujarat and West Bengal—possibly because of the greater initiative and talent of the Gujarati and Bengali speakers outside their respective States. The low coefficient for Malayalam follows closely the coefficient for the Kerala State. The coefficient for Assamese is higher than that for the State of Assam as the latter's coefficient calculation is done after including the failure-prone tribal candidates.

The relation between the State of birth and the State of residence at the time of applying for the examination reveals an important contrast between the successful and the unsuccessful candidates. While over a third of the former have moved out of the States of their birth, only a little over a fifth of the latter (thirty-one out of 146—excluding the 16 displaced persons) have done so. Moreover, there are very few candidates (less than 10) whose mother-tongues are different from the language of their State of birth. The unsuccessful candidates also seem to take the examination more in smaller centres than in the cities of Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta, in which the majority of successful candidates take their examination. Thus, 47 of them (about 29 per cent) take it in minor centres, such as Patiala, Jaipur, Trivandrum, Cuttack and Shillong, 23 from Uttar Pradesh (14.2 per cent) in Allahabad while only 32 (19.8 per cent) take it in Delhi—and another 37 (22.8 per cent) in Bombay and Calcutta. Broadly, the majority of them (118), excluding 28 movers and 16 displaced persons (or 72.8 per cent), are comparative stay-at-homes. It may be that those with talent and initiative show movement and success-proneness together, while those with less talent and initiative move less and succeed less.

The occupations of the fathers of unsuccessful candidates follow a slightly different pattern of distribution from those of the successful ones. As shown by Table 33, the professional and salaried middle-class is over-represented to a lesser extent than in the case of those who are recruited while the farmers and workers are under-represented to a lesser extent. Broadly, however, each occupational group forms nearly the same percentage of successful as of unsuccessful candidates. It looks as if over-represented occupational groups, such as (sons of) civil servants, get a larger share of the places partly by competing in proportionately larger numbers, while a proportionate number of farmers' and workers' sons do not compete. The success coefficient is near unity for all groups except the three professional groups of

university men, doctors and chartered accountants and for higher civil servants (1.79) for the reason perhaps that they set so much value on their sons' education. Curiously enough, the workers' sons too have a success coefficient of 1.2 per cent, partly because the few who compete at all, being usually members of Scheduled Castes, are given special facilities and concessions.

Looking into their educational achievements, we find that the proportion of first classes is very low; eighteen secured first classes in their first degree and six more in their second degree, making up barely 15 per cent of the total. More significantly, only 28 of the 162 (17.3 per cent) had studied in the better colleges and only 73 (45.1 per cent) took their degrees from one of the six major universities. *The part played by the better universities and better colleges among I.A.S. recruits is clearly significant.*

There are other differences in regard to the holding of offices in associations or participation in scouting and N.C.C. activities in all of which the unsuccessful candidates have not done as well as the successful ones. An even more significant factor is the job held before competing. Of the 162 unsuccessful candidates, 85 (51.9 per cent) were unemployed, and 46 (28.4 per cent) were lower civil servants, while only 84 out of the 234 successful ones (about 36 per cent) were unemployed and only 18 (7.7 per cent) were lower civil servants. The rest were either higher civil servants in less coveted Services or, more often, university lecturers. The daily grind in the lower civil service echelons seems to have affected the chances of success of unsuccessful candidates just as much as the lack of confidence consequent on being unemployed.

Let us now have a quick look at a small sample of 47 (one-fourth of the total) unsuccessful candidates of 1962 who were called for interview, but not selected finally. Their distribution by State of birth and mother-tongue follows very broadly a pattern which lies between those of the successful candidates and the unsuccessful ones not called for interview. There are, however, important exceptions to this pattern, as for example, the rather high proportion (29.79 per cent) of displaced persons. Interestingly enough, a fourth of the candidates who are not displaced (8 out of 33) have moved out of their State of birth, a proportion in between the one-fifth for the un-interviewed unsuccessful candidates and one-third for the successful recruits. In the same way, they stand between these two groups in their choice of centres; 19 of them took the examination in the cities of Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta, while 13 took it in the smaller centres. In regard to their fathers' occupations, their position is not exactly intermediate. The percentage of the sons of higher civil servants, university men, and workers is higher than among successful recruits as well as unsuccessful un-interviewed candidates.

Regarding education, their position is more clearly intermediate. Four of them went to public schools and two others to convent schools, 14 secured first classes in their first degree and six others in their second degree, making a good proportion (42.55 per cent) of first classes—close to that among I.A.S. recruits for the period 1957-63. A rather low proportion (15 out of 47) went to the better colleges, but 32 were educated in the six major universities. In regard to their employment, they are again closer to the recruits, with only 11 unemployed, only three lower civil servants, but ten lecturing in colleges and 17 already in other less coveted higher services of the Central and State Governments.

A look at their marks in the written papers and in the interview reveals a clear pattern. All but six have done fairly well in their written papers, securing over 50 per cent. A large proportion, *i.e.* 34 (72.3 per cent), got less than 30 per cent in the interview, with two more barely making 35 per cent. The remaining 11 might have made it with slightly better marks in either. This writer identified seven out of these who did make it next year in 1963 and who trained under him in 1964. In general, interviewed candidates who do not make it finally may be said to stand in between the successful recruits and the unsuccessful uninterviewed candidates in many regards. They are made up of two groups—a large group who fare well in the written papers and poorly in the interview, and a small group who do well in both, but not well enough to get in that year. A good many of the latter group seem to make it in their next attempt.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Regarding the formation of the I.A.S., and Sardar Patel's part in it, see P. S. Rau's inaugural speech in *The Changing Role of the District Collector*, I.I.P.A., New Delhi, 1965, p. 19.

2. Figures taken from *The Civil List, I.A.S.*, 1964, January (Published by the Manager of Publications, Government of India, New Delhi). The present chapter analyses a random sample of 392 recruits (*i.e.* about 40 per cent of the total) and gives reliable estimates of most of the characteristics with a low degree of error.

3. The representation coefficient or the coefficient of representation is the ratio of the percentage of recruits belonging to a State (or any other category, such as a language or paternal occupation) to the percentage of the population of that State (or category) to the total population of India. It is the same as the "index of association" concept used by Professor Glass. I have, however, stuck to the term 'coefficient' as it brings out the idea of ratio more clearly.

4. As pointed out in the first chapter, the boundaries of each Indian State throughout this study are to be taken as from the time of the final reorganisation of Bombay into Maharashtra and Gujarat in 1960, and the birth places are identified on the map of India as from that date. However, for the sake of simplicity, the few born in Himachal Pradesh (mainly Simla) were included in Punjab and the fewer born in Nagaland were included in Assam.

5. Indeed, in some cases, the relation seems to be inverse. As we shall see later in the Chapter, the majority of the recruits were educated, anyway, in a handful of well-known colleges.

6. A larger proportion of Delhi's population (than that of any other Indian city) consists of civil servants, army officers and professionals. It is, therefore, surprising that Delhi does not get a higher representation than it has. Indeed, compared to the over-representation of the Paris region in the French civil service, Delhi's over-representation is rather slight.

7. The displaced persons enjoyed an age-concession like the Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes, *i.e.* they were allowed to compete till their 29th year, while ordinary candidates could compete only up to their 24th. This concession, however, was used by less than half the successful recruits from their ranks and has been discontinued now.

8. This point has not been proved to my knowledge by any survey, but the increasing proportion of first classes among Science and Engineering graduates is some indication of this trend. See also the

discussion in the section on education about the fall in the number of first classes.

9. For details regarding the constitutional and administrative provisions for the recruitment of Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes, see Chapter VI.

10. The classification by mother-tongue corresponds more closely with classification by declared domicile. See tables in Appendices I and II.

11. Paul P. Van Riper, *History of the United States Civil Services*, Row, Peterson & Co., Illinois, 1958, p. 101.

12. Re : France, see A. Feyzioglu, "The Reforms of the French Civil Service—II" *Public Administration* (London), 1955, pp. 173-4. Re : Australia, S. Encel "The Recruitment and Careers of Higher Government Officials" *Public Administration* (Sydney) 1959, p. 65.

13. Paul P. Van Riper, *Ibid.*

14. Article 16(3) empowers the Union Parliament to prescribe residential qualifications for employment by State and local authorities; by deliberate omission, it excludes regional representation in the Services of the Union Government. Indeed, the Union Government has gone further—through the implementation of the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission—by allotting to each State cadre of the I.A.S. and I.P.S., at least half their numbers from those domiciled in another State.

15. For details, see the last section of this chapter on unsuccessful candidates.

16. The actual percentage of those who reside in a State other than their State of birth for the whole of India's population is only 5.56. The highest percentage of mobility in this regard obtains in West Bengal (15.7), Punjab (14.19) and Assam (11.44). These high percentages are easily explained as resulting from large population movements after the partition of India. Barring these three, the percentage of a State's population not born inside its borders does not exceed four, except in the case of Maharashtra.

17. This rather clumsy phrase and another—"inter-State affiliates"—are used to cover mainly (a) those born in one State and residing in another at the time of applying for the examination, and (b) those who speak at home a language different from the language of their State of birth. When displaced persons from Pakistan are added to this list, it is made clear as such.

18. An official quantitative study was made in 1958 (in answer to a Parliamentary question by Savitri Nigam—see *Rajya Sabha Debates*, 8th Sept., 1961) of the States of domicile of recruits posted to different States. The study made in this and succeeding chapters is different in that it analyses the inter-State involvements of the recruits before appointment. Again, we are not using the concept of domicile in this study, for reasons explained in the first chapter.

19. This means that the *successful* candidates include the same proportion of youths at different levels of ability—regardless of their regional origins. The distribution of ability among all the candidates may follow the same pattern, for all we know. Later in the chapter, we see that the percentages of successful and unsuccessful candidates from each State are fairly close and this partly supports the foregoing surmise.

20. This point cannot be proved beyond doubt by the tables in this study alone. The study is buttressed by my own judgment, based on teaching two batches of recruits and interviewing many older officers.

21. This was the main objective of the two well known studies : R. K. Kelsall, *Higher Civil Servants in Britain*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1955, and, Warner, Riper *et al*, *The American Federal Executive*, Yale U.P.

22. The coefficient for university teachers is highly inflated because their numbers are so small in the working population and even half a dozen sons from their homes would give them a thumping representation. The coefficient for higher civil servants is more significant as a good many of their sons are in the Services.

23. See Chapter VIII for a more detailed development of this argument.

24. A Feyzioglu, *Op. Cit.*

25. The recruits from the examination of 1963 who were trained under this writer were all asked to answer five different questions regarding their rural affiliations, *viz.*, whether they spent at least two years in a village, whether they have close relatives living in a village, whether they visited their village once in two years, whether they own a house or some lands in a village and whether they cultivate their own lands. They were graded on an additive scale and 98 of them were found to have at least one characteristic and 96 had two. The majority of this group either had relatives in a village or visited a village once in two years; 43 had three characteristics, 27 had four and 12 had all the five.

26. The actual caste distribution of the recruits of the 1963 examination is as follows :—

There were 38 Brahmins (38.78%). The Khatri-Rajput group was 10 (10.2%). The traditional dependent professional groups, such as Kayastha, Boiddho, Bania, Lingayat and others amounted to 16 (16.4%). The agricultural castes, such as Vellala and Kamma contributed 5 (5.11%). The Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes number 17 (19.37%), the non-Hindus 3 (3.08%) and non-respondents 9 (9.18%).

27. These statistics are taken from a prepared reply to a Parliamentary question (*Rajya Sabha Debates*, starred question No. 539 for the 11th of December, 1964), from Shri B. L. Chandok, expressing concern about the falling standards of recruits to the I.A.S. and other Services.

28. For example, in the period 1947-56, out of the 20 second class honours graduates from Madras, seven came within the first 25 and nine within the second 25, but of 53 first class pass graduates as a whole, 23 came within the first 25 and 22 within the second 25.

29. K. M. Panikkar has noticed this phenomenon in the mid-fifties, see his book, *The State and the Citizen*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1956, p. 65. The proportion of first classes among Science graduates has increased even further in the sixties and that among the Arts graduates decreased even further. According to figures supplied by the University Grants Commission, the percentage of first classes among Science graduates was 15.9 and among Arts graduates 1.1, for 1964.

30. The Technical Engineering Service of the P.M.G.'s Department has recruited more than 80% first class graduates in recent years. A study of the executives of leading private firms (Shell, Hindustan Lever, Tatas, Indaluminium and I.C.I.) made by me shows that over 65% of them are first class graduates—mostly in engineering or in the sciences.

31. This concept, combining the idea of success in the examination with the effort needed to achieve it—gives a better measure of the influence of such social factors as parental occupation and the type of schooling and university education secured by candidates. The number of 'Alphas', 'Betas' and 'Gammas' is easily found out by making a two-way table relating the number of attempts of each candidate to the rank obtained as shown here. The 'Alphas', 'Betas' and

'Gammas' are easily identified along diagonal cells. I have not included this type of table for the other Services, but presented only the number of 'Alphas' and 'Betas' as discovered from such tables.

INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE, 1957-1963

Model Table Relating the Number of Attempts to Rank Obtained in the Examination

	First Attempt	Second Attempt	Third Attempt	Fourth Attempt	Total
1—25	32 Alphas	20 Betas	7 Gammas	1	60
26—50	28 Betas	13 Gammas	11	1	53
51—75	17 Gammas	23	20	—	60
76—100	12	9	2	3	26
101—125	2	4	—	—	6
126—150	—	—	—	—	0
151—175	—	—	—	1	1
176—200	—	—	—	—	0
201—225	—	—	—	—	0
226—250	—	—	—	—	0
Over 251	2	12	—	—	14
Unknown	—	8	1	5	14
	93	89	41	11	234

32. This analysis of the general run of candidates is most significant as it dispels a number of illusions and cuts down to size some popular exaggerations. A similar exercise in France before their administrative reforms of 1945-47 would have saved them much disappointment and frustration.

3. THE INDIAN FOREIGN SERVICE

The Indian Foreign Service was established simultaneously with the Indian Administrative Service and recruitment by competitive examination started as early as 1947. The intake was very small for the first few years, but started increasing steadily, making up a total of 144 recruits up to and including the examination of 1963.¹ The examination was the same as for the Indian Administrative Service, with five optional papers and three compulsory papers. Together, all the papers carried 1,450 marks and the interview carried 400 marks. The successful candidates for both I.A.S. and I.F.S. were ranked together in a single list and allotted to either Service on the basis of their personal preferences and ranks.²

Distribution by States and Languages

Table 1 gives the distribution of the recruits to the I.F.S. according to their States of birth for the whole period from 1947 to 1963.³ The distribution follows a pattern similar to that of the I.A.S., with the over-representation of some States and the under-representation of others—both toned down considerably. Thus, only two States—Kerala and Punjab—are over-represented to a degree (coefficient) of 1.44 and 1.8, apart from Delhi with its 5.78; Assam's and Mysore's coefficients are just over one, Madras and Maharashtra just about break even and the traditionally under-represented Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan do fairly well. Assam is well represented, partly because of the recruitment of its Scheduled Tribe candidates under special provisions. The general impression is one of more even State representation than in the I.A.S.

The distribution of recruits according to their mother-tongue (see Table 2) also reveals similar, but less acute, imbalances in representation than in the case of the I.A.S. Thus, Punjabi, Malayalam and Kannada are clearly over-represented; the degree of over-representation is higher than in the case of the corresponding linguistic States of Punjab, Kerala and Mysore. Again, while West Bengal is under-represented (0.61), Bengali is more equitably (0.90) represented. Similarly, Gujarati is slightly over-represented although Gujarat is clearly under-represented. These are all attributable to a significant number of recruits who speak these languages, but were born outside their linguistic States. The representation of Bengali and Punjabi is further inflated by the recruits displaced from Pakistan who speak these languages.

We noticed that the distribution of recruits by their States of birth is somewhat more even than in the Indian Administrative Service, but

this is not the result of any deliberate effort made to ensure a more even regional representation. It arises more likely from the fortuitously even distribution, over the entire country, of the peripatetic families whose sons are recruited to the Services. As we shall see in the succeeding paragraphs, the recruits to the I.F.S. are significantly different from recruits to the other Services, have fewer local roots than members of the other Services and include a small number born outside India and many more who were educated overseas.

Inter-State Involvements

A look at the tables relating to States of birth, residence, examination centre and mother-tongue, reveals that most recruits are involved with more than one State or language. According to Tables 3 & 4, 36 of the 144 recruits are displaced persons from Pakistan and well over a third (51), began living outside their State of birth well ahead of the examination.* Thus, 87 of them, or more than 60 per cent, are involved with more than one State by way of residence. Again, 66 candidates, *i.e.* 46 per cent (apart from 36 displaced persons), took the examination at centres outside their States of birth according to Table 5. Counting the displaced persons, about 70 per cent took the examination away from their State of birth. Ten—the smallest number—took their examination at the smaller centres, while the large majority took it in the main cities of Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta. Delhi claimed 49 successful candidates (34 per cent), while Bombay, Calcutta and Madras accounted for another 50 (35 per cent) and London, for 10. According to Table 4, we find that 39 or about one-third of the recruits, excluding the displaced persons, speak at home a language other than the State language, and half the displaced persons speak languages other than Punjabi or Bengali. Thus, the total number of those living in another State, or speaking at home a language other than the language of their birth-State, (avoiding double counting) accounts for (102) over 70 per cent of the recruits. The proportion of inter-State affiliates is distinctly higher in the I.F.S. than in the I.A.S.—indeed the highest for all the Services. It may be of interest to note that the recruits speaking different languages are distributed between the first and second 25 ranks in fairly similar proportion. Summing up, we may repeat the remarks made about the I.A.S. and say that the recruits to the Foreign Service have fewer local and more India-wide affiliations and belong to a fairly homogeneous middle class, with the same degree of success-proneness in the examination, regardless of regional origins.

Fathers and Sons

Table 6 classifies the recruits to the I.F.S. according to the occupations of their fathers for the two periods of 1947-56 and 1957-63,

respectively, and shows a pattern very similar to that of the Indian Administrative Service, a pattern of over-representation of the middle class group consisting of civil servants, professionals and businessmen and of under-representation for the farmers and manual workers. The over-representation and the under-representation are both accentuated. For both periods, the farmers are grossly under-represented with a reduction in representation in the second period. The civil servants are represented in both the periods to the tune of 51 and 47 per cent—a higher percentage than in the I.A.S.—but more significant is the fact that about 90 per cent of them are higher civil servants. All the other middle class professions are over-represented to some extent. The coefficient list is topped by university professors and lecturers, but too much significance need not be attached to the size of the coefficient of representation, based as it is on the small number of recruits and the extremely small percentage of professors and lecturers in the total working population. The large coefficient for higher civil servants is more significant as their sons account for half the recruits.

Let us look more closely at the characteristic of the sons from various occupational categories for the two periods with the help of Table 11. During the first period, the sons of the higher civil servants, numbering 28, lead in several regards besides being the largest single group. Six of them (21.4 per cent) went to public schools and four others to convent schools. Fourteen of them (50 per cent) secured first classes in the first degree and of the 12 who took a second degree another two secured first classes. Twenty-one of them (75 per cent) went to the better colleges in India, seven went to Oxford or Cambridge and three to British or American Redbrick universities. Every member of this group had been to some exclusive educational institution—a public school, a better college in India or a foreign university. Some have been to more than one, and five have enjoyed the triple advantages of public school, better college and Oxford education, with a sixth combining public school and better college education in India with education at the University of London. Three-fourths of them (*i.e.* 21) come within the first 25 ranks—performing slightly better than the general run of candidates, 62.5 per cent of whom are among the first 25. Fifteen are ‘alphas’ and thirteen ‘betas’. In the interview too, 19 of them (67.9 per cent) got over 50 per cent. The two sons of lower civil servants have been neither to a public school nor to a convent school, but both have been to the better colleges in India; one comes within the first 25 ranks and another in the second, but both score below 50 per cent in the interview.

The 15 sons of professionals (including four sons of school-teachers) fall behind in regard to educational advantage, but are ahead in examination performance; only one of them has been to a public school and another four to convent schools, one has been to Oxford and two to Redbrick universities in the U.K. or the U.S.A., but 11 of them went to the better colleges in India. There is only one who combines all the three advantages, but every one of them has been *either* to a public school, or to a better college or to a foreign university. Six of them have first classes in their first degree and three in their second degree, making up a good 60 per cent of first classes. In regard to ranks, they have done better than the sons of higher civil servants, with 13 of them coming within the first 25 ranks. Eleven of them are 'alphas' and four are 'betas'. At the interview too, they come off better, with 11 of them (about 73 per cent) scoring over 50 per cent.

There are eight sons of businessmen and business executives. Of them, one went to a public school and another two to convent schools. Five have first classes in their first degree and two others secured a first class in their second degree. One was educated at Oxford and another in an English Redbrick university, while five had been to the better colleges in India. Five have come within the first 25 ranks and three within the second twenty-five. four are 'alphas' and four 'betas', while five (62.5 per cent) have also secured over 50 per cent marks at the interview.

The seven sons of landowners have all these characteristics in smaller measure; two have been to public schools, one to an English Redbrick university and four to the better colleges in India. Three have first classes in their first degree and two more secured first classes in their second degree. Four of them come within the first 25 ranks, three are 'alphas', two are 'betas' and four again have scored over 50 per cent in the interview.

The next period shows no great change in the composition of the Service except the inclusion of 12 Scheduled Caste candidates, including five of lowly social origins. As before, the 35 sons of higher civil servants, forming the largest single group, dominate the picture and set the pace. Thirteen of them had been to public schools and another 11 went to convent schools, thus constituting a high 68.6 per cent of those specially schooled. Seven were educated in Oxford (of whom six had been to public schools) and 23 attended the better colleges in India. As in the last period, all of them had some special educational advantage and some had more than one. Thus, there are six with public-school/Oxbridge background and another six with convent-school/better-college background. Eleven have first classes in their first degree and three others in their second degree, making up a rather

poor 40 per cent of first classes. Twenty-one came within the first 25 ranks, thirteen are 'alphas', eleven are 'betas' and 25 secured more than 50 per cent at the interview. Of the four sons of lower civil servants, only one had been to a convent school and none to a foreign university. Two went to the better colleges and received first-class degrees. Three came within the first 25 ranks and also scored over 50 per cent at the interview.

The 20 sons of professionals trail, not far behind the sons of higher civil servants. Three went to a public school and four others to a convent school and 10 who had not been to a public or convent school went to the better colleges. Thus nearly *everyone* enjoyed some advantage, but only two combined a public school and Oxford education. Nine secured first classes in their first degree and another two scored first classes in their second degree, making up a good 55 per cent of first classes. Only 11 got within the first 25 ranks, seven are 'alphas', seven are 'betas', but 15 (three-fourths) secured over 50 per cent at the interview.

Of the 16 sons of businessmen and business executives, five have been to public schools and two to convent schools making up a good 43.8 per cent with special schooling. Eight attended the better colleges and two more were educated in foreign universities. Six secured first classes in their first degree and two more in their second degree. There are two 'alphas' and seven 'betas' among them and ten who secured over 50 per cent at the interview. All told their academic attainments are poorer, but they include a high proportion of public-school and convent-school boys and good interviewees.

There are three sons of the richer farmers, one of whom has been to a public school and to Oxford and two others who have been to the better colleges in India. There is only one first class among them, but two come within the first 25 ranks and one among the second 25; all the three score over 50 per cent at the interview.

The five Scheduled Caste sons of town workers and artisans (there are other Scheduled Caste members of higher social origin among the earlier groups) have practically no advantages; none has been to a public or convent school, only one to a better college, and only one has secured a first class. None of them got over 40 per cent at the interview and all of them were recruited through the special list from far down the scale of ranks.⁵

Evidently, the Indian Foreign Service attracts its recruits from a narrower social range than the Indian Administrative Service. At the centre of the picture are the sons of higher civil servants constituting nearly half the total and enjoying significantly greater advantages in schooling and university education than the others, scoring highest at

the interview even among candidates who normally score higher than the recruits to the other Services. The bulk of the others consists of the sons of prosperous professionals and business executives and the wealthier landowners, all with somewhat fewer educational advantages than the sons of higher civil servants, but still enjoying significantly greater advantages than those from these same occupational categories in the other Services. The odd men out are Scheduled Caste recruits of lowly social origins with no educational advantages.

Such a social composition—substantially different from that of the equally prestigious Indian Administrative Service—results purely from the preferences expressed for the I.F.S. by competing candidates of higher social origins. In general, and particularly in the last triennium, a large proportion of successful candidates within the first 25 ranks opted for the I.A.S. in preference to the I.F.S. and many of these come from less elevated social origins. This preference is partly based on strong family ties in India and the clear social advantages to those of ordinary middle class origins of belonging to a prestigious Service in India as against venturing into the unknown world of diplomacy. On the other hand, candidates who prefer the Foreign Service have either themselves been overseas or have kept in touch with friends and relatives living overseas and are more attracted by the glamour of a diplomat's life than by the rigours of the Collector's office in India. The social composition is thus determined solely by the competitors' preferences—based on their evaluation of each Service and their self-evaluation of their compatibility with each.

Religion and Caste

Table 7 gives the distribution of the candidates by religion for the period under study from 1947 to 1963. Not surprisingly, the majority of the recruits are Hindus, though they are slightly under-represented in contrast to the other Services. The Christians, Jains and Sikhs are a little over-represented while the Muslims are less under-represented here than in the other Services. Within the Hindu fold itself the usually over-represented Brahmins are considerably less over-represented than elsewhere. All these differences would seem to flow out of the social composition of the Foreign Service, which draws its recruits from an upper-middle professional and salaried class, which is not exactly a proportionate microcosm of the Indian population, nor even of the broad middle class from which the other Services draw their recruits.

Education

The Indian Foreign Service has a high proportion of recruits with a rather exclusive education. It includes the highest proportion of

those who went to public or convent schools (40 per cent) which play a rather marginal part in the education of I.A.S. recruits and a high proportion of those who attended the better Indian colleges, very much as in the case of the I.A.S. Ten of the 61 in the first period went to public schools and another seven went to convent schools—making up nearly 28 per cent with some special schooling. Sixteen were educated in foreign universities, nine of them in Oxford and Cambridge and seven in London and British Redbrick universities, and 42 attended the better colleges in India. The large majority had one or the other of these advantages, some had two, while a few had all the three. All this is more true of the second period too; 22 of the 83 had been to public schools and another 18 to convent schools—making up 40 (or 48 per cent) with special schooling. Eleven went to Oxford or Cambridge, one to London and forty-six attended the better colleges in India. Excluding the five very poor Sc. Caste and Sc. Tribe recruits and another six non-Scheduled Caste recruits of less elevated origins, all the others have enjoyed one or more of these advantages.

The majority of the candidates were educated in one of the six major universities and in one of the better colleges of India. According to Table 8, 78.5 per cent (113 recruits) of the candidates were educated in the six older and better-known universities of India, namely, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Allahabad and Punjab, 3.5 per cent (5 recruits) completely in Oxford, Cambridge or London, and only 18 per cent (26) in the other universities of India—mainly, Agra, Lucknow and Nagpur. Of the older universities again, Delhi University accounts for the largest single group of 38 recruits (or 26.4 per cent) with Punjab and Bombay following with 23 (16 per cent) and 20 (14 per cent) recruits, Madras claiming 14 (9.7 per cent) and Allahabad and Calcutta accounting for nine each. Of these 113, again, 86 come from a dozen famous colleges. Together with two more from Ravenshaw College of Cuttack (once part of Calcutta University) and five educated completely in Oxford, they make up a total of 93 or about 65 per cent with special college education. It is remarkable that a third of these (31) come from St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

An important feature of the Foreign Service is the large number of recruits who combine different advantages. Thus, of the 57 public/convent-school boys, 18 went to Oxford or Cambridge and three others to London University. Of the 36 other public/convent-school boys, 24 went to the better colleges in India. Thus, 45 have had a double advantage at school and college. Of the 87 non-public school boys, 48 had the advantage of attending a better college. This combination of advantages has perhaps something to do with the success of Foreign Service recruits at the interview in which two-thirds score over 50 per cent compared to a third or less who do that in the case of the I.A.S.

Is the drop in the proportion of first classes from the first to the second period something to worry about? Perhaps not, and nearly for the same reasons as in the case of the I.A.S. In the first place, it is out of focus to set too much store on a first class all by itself. As was shown in the last chapter, there are a good many first classes among the unsuccessful candidates, even if the proportion is lower among them. Moreover, the standards of first classes from different universities in different subjects are likely to be less uniform and reliable than the marking and ranking in an India-wide competitive examination. In the case of the I.F.S., the second-class graduates of Oxford, Cambridge and other foreign universities should be counted as first class by Indian standards. Anyway, we noticed in the case of the I.A.S. that the percentage of marks in the written examination bears no close relation to the class obtained in the degree. The disturbing factors, as we have discussed in the case of the I.A.S., are probably elsewhere.

Performance in the Competitive Examination

We shall discuss the four main criteria of examination performance as in the case of the Indian Administrative Service and begin with the analysis of 'alphas' (or those who come within the first 25 ranks in the first attempt) and 'betas' (or those who come within the first 25 in the second attempt or in the second 25 in the first attempt). The Indian Foreign Service has the highest proportion of 'alphas' in both periods, to wit, 56 per cent (34 out of 61) in the first period and 30 per cent (25 out of 83) in the second period, compared to 30 per cent and 13.7 per cent, respectively, of the I.A.S. This higher proportion has probably something to do with the higher social origins of the majority of the recruits to the I.F.S. The 'betas' are just half the number of 'alphas' during the first period (17), but during the second they form nearly 34 per cent (28 out of 83). The increasing attractions of the I.A.S. for those coming within the first 25 ranks may be one reason for this decline in the proportion of 'alphas'.

Alphas and Betas

Let us now analyse the 'alpha' and 'beta' groups in some detail with the help of Table 23. The 'alphas' of both periods are rather similar, though their numbers have fallen in the second. A high proportion of them are the sons of higher civil servants, *i.e.*, 15 out of 34 (44.1 per cent) in the first period, and 13 out of 25 (52 per cent) in the second period. A high proportion of them have been to public or convent schools, to wit, 11 out of 34 (32 per cent) in the first period, and 18 out of 25 (72 per cent) in the second period. Three of the 34 have been to Oxford or Cambridge, and four to English

Redbrick Universities during the first period, while six of the 25 have been to Oxford/Cambridge during the second period. Thus, the 'alphas' of the second period, while reduced in numbers, are an even more exclusive group in regard to schooling and foreign university education. In the first period, 18 out of 34 secured first classes in their first degree and seven more in their second degree. In the second period, ten out of 25 secured first classes in their first degree and three more got first classes in their second degree. A high proportion went to the better colleges of India during both periods, to wit, 22 out of 34 (65 per cent) in the first period and sixteen out of 25 (64 per cent) in the second period. Their performance in the interview is the best for any group in any Service; thus 71 per cent (24 out of 34) of the first period and 84 per cent (21 out of 25) of the second period scored more than 50 per cent in the interview. *The 'alphas' of the I.F.S. are easily the pick of the basket in regard to social origins and social accomplishments.*

The 'betas' trail not too far behind the 'alphas'. They are a minority in the first period, but form the biggest single group in the second. Twelve of the 17 'betas' in the first period (70.6 per cent) and 11 out of 28 in the second period (39.3 per cent) are sons of higher civil servants. Six of the 'betas' of the first period have been to public schools and another two to convent schools (47 per cent), while eight have been to public schools and four more to convent schools (43 per cent) in the second period. In the first period, five have been to Oxford or Cambridge and two to an English Redbrick University, while in the second period, four went to Oxford or Cambridge and one to a Redbrick University. Social advantages seem to be more concentrated in the 'alpha' group in the second period and the 'alphas' and 'betas' are more sharply differentiated than in the first. However, the performance of 'betas' at the university and in the interview is nearly as good as that of the 'alphas'. Eleven 'betas' (65 per cent) of the first period have secured first classes (eight in their first degree and three more in their second degree) against 17 (61 per cent) in the second period (14 in their first degree, three in the second). Thirteen of the first period (77 per cent) and 18 of the second period (64 per cent) have attended the better colleges. At the interview, nine in the first period (52 per cent) and 22 (79 per cent) in the second period secured over 50 per cent marks.

There is a small group of ten outside the 'alpha' and 'beta' groups in the first period and a large group of 30 in the second period. They have very few advantages in regard to schooling or foreign-university education. Most of them have secured less than 50 per cent in the interview, but have done fairly well at the university. The 30 of the

second period include 10 recruits from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes—recruited under special provisions from a separate list, down the scale of ranks.

The Interview

The I.F.S. is the most interview-oriented Service as is clear from Table 25. A very high proportion (over two-thirds) of the recruits secured over 50 per cent in the interview in both periods and, indeed, 40 per cent of the recruits secured over 60 per cent. As the recruits are not allotted to the Foreign Service on the basis of marks in the interview, it follows that those who do well at the interview will choose the Foreign Service and, conversely, the best of those who choose the Foreign Service interview well.

Let us look more closely at the relationship between the percentage of marks in the written examination and the interview for both periods. It is evident that, in both periods, the written marks are mostly distributed between 50 and 60 per cent, with a very small minority getting above or below these limits. This is very much as in the case of the I.A.S., but the spread of interview marks is wider, with the majority getting over 50 per cent. Indeed, one can isolate four main groups in both the periods. First, there is a majority core-group, scoring between 50 and 60 per cent at the written examination and over 50 per cent in the interview, numbering 31 in the first period and 41 in the second period. Then there is a small group of 'book-worms', who score over 60 per cent at the written examination, but less than 50 per cent in the interview, numbering ten for the first period and three for the next. There is a third small group of good conversationalists, scoring less than 50 per cent in the written papers but more than 65 per cent in the interview, numbering four in the first period and two in the second. We also find a fourth group of ten in the first period and thirteen in the second, scoring poorly (less than 50 per cent) in the interview but moderately (between 50 to 60 per cent) in the written papers. Outside these, there is a very small number who score highly in both. Yet another group in the second period is of those scoring poorly in both (less than 50 per cent in both)—consisting mostly of candidates from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

This general pattern of distribution of candidates has not changed much from the first to the second period, nor has the abolition, in 1957, of the qualifying minimum of 35 per cent at the interview brought in a flood of shy and silent book-worms. In fact, there are only three recruits in the second period (out of 83) who score below 35 per cent (but not below 30 per cent) and who might have been kept out under the old rule.

What contributes to success at the interview or, more precisely, what are the factors that correlate with good interview marks? We may divide the recruits into three broad groups, namely 'III' getting below 45 per cent at the interview, 'II' getting between 45 and 60 per cent and 'I' getting over 60 per cent. As we compare them with the help of Table 37, we find some correlations in regard to school and college education and extra-curricular activities. Thus, six of the ten public schoolboys are among the 'I' in the first period, and the other four among the 'II'. In the second period, 11 of them are among 'I', six among the 'II' and two among the 'III'. Of the nine 'Oxbridge' graduates of the first period, six are among the 'I', and the other three among the 'II'. Of the 42 who had attended the better colleges in the first period, 21 are among the 'I', 10 among the 'II' and 11 among the 'III' (getting 30-45 per cent) and of the 42 of the second period, 20 are among the 'I', 18 among the 'II' and four among the 'III'. Among the 26 Scouts and National Cadets of the first period, 13 are among the 'I', eight among the 'II' and five among the 'III'. All these factors have some bearing on performance in the interview and probably contribute to the comparatively high interview marks scored in the I.F.S.

How does academic ability correlate with performance in the personality test? We have two measures of academic ability, namely, the class achieved by the candidate in his university degree and his percentage of marks in the written papers. We notice that first classes do slightly better at the interview, but 'honours' first classes do significantly better. Of the 30 who got first classes in their first degree during the period 1947 to 1956, twelve are among the 'I', 10 among the 'II' and eight among the 'III', but of the twelve 'honours' first classes, eight are among the 'I', two among the 'II' and two among the 'III'. Of the thirty first-classes in the second period, 13 are among the 'I', 12 among the 'II' and five among the 'III' but of the 16 'honours' first classes, 10 are in 'I', four are in 'II' and two are in 'III'. The degree of correlation between the marks in the written papers and in the interview is higher than in the other Services. One may infer that the chances of getting high marks in the interview, along with low marks in the written papers, are not too good—as are the chances of getting low marks in the interview with high marks in the written papers.

It would be interesting at this stage to find out how many of the recruits to the I.F.S. wanted to enter it in preference to the I.A.S. Fifty-seven out of the 61, in the first period, made it their first choice in their applications for the examination, and 66 out of the 83 recruits did so in the second period. Thus, the I.F.S. consists predominantly (85 per cent) of those who chose it right at the time of applying to sit

for the examination. The rest (15 per cent) who made the I.A.S. their first choice are likely to have changed their minds in favour of the Foreign Service just before the successful candidates were finally allocated to the two different Services.

An Overview

To sum up, the Indian Foreign Service is clearly different from the Indian Administrative Service and even more different from other Services in important regards. It attracts recruits from a higher social stratum than the other Services. This stratum consists of higher civil servants, prosperous professionals and the richer farmers; the majority have also had a more exclusive education in public and convent schools, and in the better colleges of India; a good proportion of them have participated more in extra-curricular activities; and the majority secured a higher percentage of marks in the interview than is the case with the I.A.S. To put this picture in perspective, one needs to add that the foreign services of several other countries, such as Britain and the U.S.A., are just as different from their home civil services as the I.F.S. is from the I.A.S. and other civil services.⁶ Anyway, the combination of higher social origins and accomplishments in the case of the I.F.S. results not from any deliberate planning on the Government's part, but rather from the stronger attractions of the Foreign Service to a class and personality type with that combination. Changes, if any, in the Service's composition and characteristics are likely to come about either from a change in its image—thereby attracting a more varied group of candidates—or from a change in the attitudes of examination candidates to official life in India and to diplomatic life out of it.

FOOTNOTE TO CHAPTER 3

1. In addition to these recruits, the Indian Foreign Service also includes a number of officers seconded from the old Indian Civil Service, the Indian Administrative Service and a few from other Services. Their proportion is not high and is bound to diminish with the years.

2. The candidates from the common list were taken up one by one in the order of merit and each was allotted to the Service to which he gave his first preference—so long as posts were available in that Service. The position has changed somewhat since the examination of 1964, as the candidates for the Indian Foreign Service are marked for a maximum of 400 marks for the interview, while the candidates for the Indian Administrative Service are marked for a maximum of 300—thereby creating two separate lists with mostly the same candidates—perhaps in a slightly different order of merit. The principles of allocation to either Service are the same, but the process is a little more complicated.

3. A consolidated table is provided for the whole period, generally because of the small numbers involved, but separate tables are provided where justified by the nature of the characteristic studied and the nature of the differences between the two periods.

4. When the States are arranged in the same order horizontally and vertically from the same point, as in Appendix IV, those residing in their own State of birth would all be included in a diagonal line of cells from the top left to the bottom right. All those outside this line of cells are residing outside their State of birth at the time of applying for the examination. The consolidated list of these is given in Table 3.

5. According to their declared policy—in implementation of Article 16(4) of the Constitution of India—the Government of India reserve a percentage of the vacancies not exceeding twelve and one-half per cent for the Scheduled Castes and five per cent for the Scheduled Tribes. As soon as the vacancies open for general competition are filled from the list of successful candidates in order of merit, the reserved vacancies are then filled from candidates from Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes in their order of merit.

6. For the U.S. Foreign Service, see Martin B. Hickman and Neil Hollander, "Undergraduate Origin As a Factor in Elite Recruitment and Mobility: The Foreign Service—A Case study", *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, see pp. 337-353. See also, W. Lloyd Warner *et al*, *The American Federal Executive*, Yale U.P., 1963, pp. 549-559. For the British Foreign Service, see Ernest Davies, M.P. "The Foreign and Commonwealth Service", *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, pp. 347-459 and R. A. Thomas, C.M.G., "The Development of the Overseas Civil Service", *Public Administration* (London), Vol. XXXVI, pp. 319-333.

4. THE INDIAN POLICE SERVICE

The Indian Police Service (I.P.S.) is successor to the superior service known in British India as the Indian Police (or I.P.) and retained the earlier tradition of recruitment for ten years after Independence. The successful candidates in the competitive examination under this system were recruited for each State by the (Central) Union Government on the basis of their residence therein. According to the rule concerned, vacancies in the cadre of each State were "filled from among successful candidates ordinarily residing in that State or in any Part C State adjacent to such States".¹ Up to the competitive examination of 1954, the published results ranked successful candidates separately for each State and an India-wide rank list was published for the first time after the examination of 1955. Next year, the old rule was deleted, following the acceptance by the Government of India of the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission about the recruitment of All-India Services.² The new policy of India-wide ranking of the successful candidates in one list and the filling of half of each State cadre with candidates from another State was implemented from 1957 onwards. As a result, 1956-57 is a more important watershed for the I.P.S., than for the other Services since the implementation of this new policy coincided with the abolition of the prescribed minimum of 35 per cent in the interview for successful candidates. One would, therefore, expect a sharper difference between the pre-1957 and post-1957 periods in the case of the I.P.S. than for the other Services studied.

Distribution by States and Languages

This expectation is only partly justified by facts. A look at that part of Table 1 which gives the distribution of I.P.S. recruits according to their States of birth for the period 1947-56 reveals less imbalance in the representation of States than in the case of the I.A.S. Looking more closely, we find that Kerala, Madras, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and Punjab are clearly over-represented; Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Mysore and Rajasthan are under-represented while most other States (with co-efficients between 0.75 and 1.00) just about break even. The displaced persons and Delhi-ites are strikingly over-represented for reasons already mentioned in connection with the I.A.S. In general, the same States—as in the case of the I.A.S.—are over-represented or under-represented, but to a lesser degree. The earlier policy of recruitment on the basis of residence in a State has only toned

down imbalances in State representation, but not abolished them. In the next period, 1957-63, the degrees of over-representation and under-representation have caught up to match those of the I.A.S. for the same period—but the under-represented States of Assam, Orissa and Rajasthan have, at the same time, increased their representation significantly, presumably for the same reasons as in the case of the I.A.S.

Table 2 reveals imbalances in the representation of languages—similar to the imbalance in terms of the State of birth. In both periods, Malayalam, Tamil, Punjabi, Bengali (and Assamese and, to a lesser extent, Hindi) are over-represented. The over-representation in all these cases is of a higher degree than for the corresponding linguistic States of Kerala, Madras, Punjab and West Bengal. This is so for the same reasons as in the case of the I.A.S.—owing to the significant number of candidates speaking these languages born outside their linguistic States—augmented in the case of Punjabi and Bengali by candidates displaced from Pakistan. The low representation of Gujarati and Kashmiri, the under-representation of Telugu and Kannada and the increased representation of Oriya all follow the pattern of the I.A.S.

There is little need to discuss the general reasons for the imbalance in the representation of States and languages in the I.P.S., as they are probably the same as in the case of the I.A.S. The imbalance also falls into perspective through the same factors as discussed earlier in connection with the I.A.S.: (1) the matching proportion of competing and successful candidates from each State; (2) the steadily increasing representation of some under-represented States, such as Assam, Orissa and Rajasthan through better educational facilities and motivation; and (3) the inter-State involvements of a significant proportion of the successful candidates. We shall now look more closely into the last factor.

Inter-State Involvements

Table 3 shows the relationship between the State of birth and the State of residence of the recruits to the I.P.S., for the two periods. It reveals that, even during the period 1947-1956, out of the 324 recruits—excluding 64 displaced persons—93 recruits were resident in States other than their State of birth months before the examination. In the post-1956 period, this tendency has increased slightly; out of 314 successful candidates—excluding 70 displaced persons—as many as 101 (32 per cent) were resident in States other than their States of birth. There is naturally more inter-State movement when we compare the States of birth of successful candidates with the centres at which they took their examination. In the period from 1947 to 1956, over half of the recruits *i.e.*, 171 out of 324—excluding 64 displaced persons—took their examinations in centres well outside their States, as

shown by Table 5. The proportion has decreased slightly in the next period as only 135 out of 314—excluding 70 displaced persons—took the examination away from centres in their State of birth. In both periods, Delhi attracted about half the successful candidates; Bombay, Calcutta, Allahabad and Madras, the bulk of the rest, while the smaller centres accounted for very few indeed.

Widespread inter-State affiliations are equally evident in Table 4 which relates the candidate's State of birth and his mother-tongue. For the period 1947-1956, 14.8 per cent of the candidates, *i.e.*, 49 out of 324—excluding the displaced persons—speak a language different from the language of their State of birth and even the displaced persons are not entirely Punjabi or Bengali-speaking. A similar picture obtains for the next period 1957-1963, but the proportion of those who speak at home a language different from that of their State of birth has diminished slightly to 13.5 per cent (*i.e.* 46 out of 314, excluding the 70 displaced persons).

It is interesting to note that candidates from the same State or language groups, as in the case of the I.A.S., are mobile. The displaced persons from Pakistan are, of course, the most mobile; moving from one sovereign state to another, they keep on moving also from one State of India to another. Among the others, however, the Keralites come on top. For the period 1947-56, only ten out of twenty-six born in Kerala lived therein at the time of applying for the examination; fourteen are spread all over India, while two live overseas. Only one took the examination in Kerala's capital, but twenty-three of these spoke Malayalam at home. At the other end, for the same period, we have the recruits from Uttar Pradesh; sixty-one of the seventy born therein stayed on there, 52 even took the examination at Allahabad in their State, while another 16 took it in nearby Delhi. In between are all the others—those from Madras a poor second to the mobile Keralites, and the Biharis running close to those from Uttar Pradesh in staying at home. All this is true of the next period too, with the Keralites at one end and those from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar at the other. Only ten out of 24 Keralites stayed on in their State; of the ten, only seven took the examination in the State capital. Compared to them, 55 out of 64 from Uttar Pradesh stayed on and 49 took the examination in Allahabad, and another 11 in nearby Delhi.

The Tamil-speaking recruits show a somewhat wider spread in their States of birth than the Keralites. In the period 1947-1956, six out of thirty-eight Tamil-speakers were born in three States other than Madras and for the next period, the number is seven out of forty-seven. The Hindi-speakers were naturally spread over the four Hindi-speaking States, but very few outside. The Bengalis and Punjabis—

even after excluding displaced persons among them—show quite a spread in their States of birth, evidently as a result of the migration of Bengalis for jobs and Punjabis for business to many other States. Among the States, those carved out of former multi-lingual States like Madras and Maharashtra naturally show a wider variety of mother-tongues among their young ones than other States. For example, of the 32 recruits of the 1947-56 period from Maharashtra, 11 speak at home languages other than Marathi, while the proportion is 6 out of 14 in the next period. This is a gentle reminder of the contribution of the city of Bombay in fostering a similarly motivated middle class from different linguistic groups.

We have already noticed that about one-third of the recruits, who are not displaced persons, live in States other than their States of birth well ahead of the examination. They might have gone there in search of jobs or for higher education. About one-seventh speak at home languages other than the language of their State of birth. Adding them up (without duplicating those who share both characteristics) we have 111 inter-State affiliates and 64 displaced persons in the first period, out of a total of 388. Again, there are 117 inter-State affiliates and 70 displaced persons in the second period out of 384 recruits. Broadly, 45 per cent (in the first period) to 50 per cent (second period) belong to a broad mobile section of the middle class with comparatively looser local affiliations. To repeat what was said in connection with the I.A.S., this is something to be happy about.

There are other encouraging things too. The inter-State affiliates (excluding the displaced persons) do just as well as the others in educational attainments and examination performance. In the interview, they have a slender edge on the others; in the first period, 32 out of their 111 (29 per cent) score over 50 per cent at the interview, as against the general average of 89 out of 388 (23 per cent) scoring over 50 per cent. In the second period, 47 out of 117 (about 40 per cent) do this against the general average of 131 out of 384 (34 per cent). We find, too, that the recruits from different States (of birth) are distributed not too disproportionately among the various rank levels (see Table 30). We may repeat what was said about the I.A.S. namely that the recruits from different States and language groups are drawn from a section of an India-wide middle class with similar distribution of ability and of similar personality types. If some States produce currently more of them than others, there is room for the hope that the less productive States will catch up soon—as shown by Rajasthan, Orissa and Assam.

Fathers and Sons

The distribution of the occupations of the fathers of I.P.S. recruits follows broadly the same pattern as that of the I.A.S. (see Table 6). In both periods, the middle class groups consisting mainly of civil servants and professionals dominate the picture to the tune of about 81 per cent and 77 per cent, respectively. There are, however, important differences within this broadly similar pattern. In the first place, the proportion of civil servants as such is somewhat less than in the case of the I.A.S. and I.F.S. and the proportion of higher civil servants (varying between 20 and 23 per cent) is significantly lower. Secondly, the lower civil servants and school teachers who are clearly lower middle class, have better representation than in the I.A.S. The farmers and land-owners (though under-represented) are much better represented than in any other Service. We can make a good guess at the reasons for this. The sons of the bigger land-owners were encouraged to compete for the Police Service during British rule and probably continued to compete in good numbers—with better chances of selection under the pre-1957 system of recruitment based on residential qualifications. The nature of the I.P.S. examination—with its proportionately greater emphasis (300 marks out of 1,150) on the interview may also be encouraging the less intellectual, but more confident type of candidates from the land-owning class. Moreover, in the post-1957 period, a good number of candidates from the Sc. Castes and Se. Tribes recruited under special provisions came from the poor farming class—thus increasing its representation.

Let us now analyse the educational background and examination performance of the sons from different occupational categories with the help of Table 12. Starting with the sons of the higher civil servants, eight of their 77 went to public schools and another four to convent schools—making up over 15 per cent with special schooling. Fifteen got first classes in their first degree and another nine in their second degree, making up just 31.2 per cent of first classes. Thirty-eight (49.4 per cent) had attended the better colleges. At the examination, their performance is very much like that of other groups: 40 got selected in their first attempt and 23 in the second; 24 (31.1 per cent) were 'alphas', 19 'betas' (24.7 per cent) and 17 (22.1 per cent) got more than 50 per cent at the interview.³

Of the 69 sons of lower civil servants, only one went to a public school and another to a convent school, but 30 (43.5 per cent) attended the better colleges. Twenty-one got first classes in their first degree and another eight in their second—making up 42 per cent of first classes. At the examination, 39 got success in their first attempt and 27 in their second attempt; they have 24 'alphas' (34.8 per cent) and 19

(27.5 per cent) 'betas'—and 12 (17.4 per cent) who got more than 50 per cent at the interview.

Of the 102 sons of professionals (excluding school-teachers) only one went to a public school and another to a convent school, but 45 (44.12 per cent) attended the better colleges. Twenty-six got first classes in their first degree and another 16 in their second degree making up a good 40.2 per cent of first classes. At the examination, 48 were successful in the first attempt and 32 in the second; 32 (31.4 per cent) were 'alphas' and 23 (22.5 per cent) were 'betas' and 25 (24.5 per cent) got more than 50 per cent in the interview. None of the 25 sons of school-teachers went to a public or a convent school but 15 (60 per cent) went to the better colleges. Nine secured first classes in their first degree and another three in the second, making up 48 per cent of first classes. At the examination, 19 succeeded in the first attempt and five in the second; 13 (52 per cent) were 'alphas' and six (24 per cent) 'betas' and five got more than 50 per cent at the interview.

Four of the 48 sons of businessmen and business employees went to public schools and another three to convent schools making up 14.6 per cent with special schooling. Twenty one (43.8 per cent) attended the better colleges. Fifteen got first classes in their first degree and another two in their second degree, bringing their proportion up to 35.5 per cent. At the examination, 32 succeeded in the first attempt and 20 in the second; 16 (33.3 per cent) were 'alphas' and 18 (37.5 per cent) were 'betas' and a good 13 (27.1 per cent) got more than 50 per cent at the interview.

The sons of farmers are well represented and have also done well in their educational attainments and examination performance. Two of their 62 went to public schools and 31 (50 per cent) attended the better colleges. Eighteen secured first classes in their first degree and another four in the second, bringing up the first classes to 35.45 per cent. At the examination, 28 succeeded in the first attempt and 26 in the second; 19 (30.7 per cent) were 'alphas' and 16 (25.8 per cent) were 'betas', while 15 (24.2 per cent) got more than 50 per cent in the interview.

Summing up, the sons of different occupational categories (excluding four of lowly origins)⁴ in the first period have very similar backgrounds and attainments. But there is a sharper differentiation in the second period, though not as much as in the case of the I.F.S. and I.A.S. At the same time, there is a general fall in educational attainments (particularly in the percentage of first classes) as well as in the standard of examination performance, mainly because the better candidates went into the I.A.S. with its increasing intake. Partly as a

result of this, the Police Service was attracting candidates with comparatively better performance in the interview rather than in the written papers.

Looking more closely into the characteristics of the various occupational categories in the second period, we find that 11 of the 88 sons of higher civil servants went to public schools and another nine to convent schools, making up a good 22.7 per cent of the total—and 43 (48.9 per cent) attended the better colleges. However, only eight got first classes in their first degree and another five in their second degree making up a poor 14.8 per cent of the total. At the examination, 37 succeeded in the first attempt and 29 in the second, but there are only 17 (19.3 per cent) 'alphas' and 14 'betas' (15.9 per cent). At the interview, however, 39 (44.3 per cent) secured more than 50 per cent marks.

Two of the 73 sons of lower civil servants had been to public schools and another two to convent schools, but 26 (35.6 per cent) attended the better colleges. Sixteen secured first classes in their first degree and another seven in their second, making up 31.4 per cent of first classes. At the examination, 25 succeeded in the first attempt, and 27 in the second, while 17 (23.3 per cent) secured over 50 per cent in the interview, but only six were 'alphas' and seventeen were 'betas'.

Of the 51 sons of professionals (excluding school-teachers), one had been to a public school, and another three to convent schools, and 17 (33.3 per cent) to the better colleges. Nine got first classes in their first degree and another five in their second degree, making up 27.5 per cent of first classes. At the examination, 19 succeeded in the first attempt and 18 in the second. A good 24 (47.1 per cent) got over 50 per cent in the interview, but there are only 11 (23.5 per cent) 'alphas' and nine 'betas' (17.6 per cent).

Among the 26 sons of school-teachers, there is one public-school boy and another convent-educated boy and 11 alumni (42.3 per cent) of the better colleges. Four secured a first class in their first degree and another two in their second degree, making up barely 23.1 per cent of first classes. Twelve succeeded in their first attempt at the examination, ten in their second attempt and nine (34.6 per cent) got more than 50 per cent in the interview. There are only four 'alphas' and six 'betas' among them.

The fifty-nine sons of businessmen and business employees count two public-school boys among themselves, another three convent-school boys and 23 alumni (39 per cent) of better colleges. Twelve got first classes in their first degree and another two in their second degree, bringing up the percentage of first classes to 23.7. Eighteen succeeded in the first attempt at the examination and 20 in the second

attempt; and 19 (32.2 per cent) secured over 50 per cent at the interview. There are only four 'alphas' and six 'betas' among them.

The 73 farmers' sons of this period—unlike their counterparts of the first period—include a good number of Sc. Caste and Sc. Tribe candidates from the homes of poorer agricultural tenants and farmers. There are still four public-school boys (evidently from the richer land-owning families) and 28 alumni (38.4 per cent) of the better colleges. Nine got first classes in their first degree and another eight in their second degree, bringing up the first classes to 23.3 per cent. Twenty-two succeeded in the first attempt at the examination and 33 in the second with only 16 (21.9 per cent) getting over 50 per cent at the interview and only three 'alphas' and seven 'betas'.

Excluding fifteen recruits of rather lowly origin (with no public or convent schooling, no education in a better college, no 'alphas' or 'betas' and all getting below 50 per cent at the interview) the recruits from the various occupational groups are all very much alike—with generally poorer academic attainments and performance in the written papers than in the first period but with a significantly better performance at the interview.

Religion and Caste

The distribution of recruits by religion follows for both periods (see Table 7) the same general pattern as in the case of the Indian Administrative Service—over-representation for all religious minorities except Muslims and slight over-representation for the Hindus. An important development is that the strong over-representation of the Brahmins in the first period has been reduced by almost a third in the second period, while the representation of Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes (still under-represented) has been increased almost five-fold, with the operation of the special provisions for their recruitment.

Education

Public and convent schools play an even lesser part in the education of the Indian Police Service recruits than in the case of recruits to the Indian Administrative Service. Sixteen went to public schools during the first period and another 11 to convent schools, making up a bare 7 per cent. In the second period, 20 went to public schools and another 17 to convent schools, making up only 9.6 per cent of the total. However, a good number of the public and convent-school boys (17 out of 27 in the first period and 15 out of 37 in the second period) are included among the top recruits *i.e.* the 'alphas', 'betas' and 'gammas'. The better colleges play a clearly more important part (see Table 9); 179 (46.1 per cent) were educated in them in the first period and 152 (39.1 per cent) in the second period. Their alumni also form a slightly higher percentage of the top recruits. The major-

rity of recruits come from the older and better established Universities of Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Punjab, Delhi and Allahabad (see Table 8); 273 (70.4 per cent) did so in the first period and 249 (64.8 per cent) in the second. The majority of the rest were distributed among the Universities of Agra, Lucknow, Patna and Nagpur.

The I.P.S. is not a Service of first classes; in the first period, 106 got first classes in their first degree and another 42 in the second—making up a good 38.1 per cent. In the second period, 61 first classes in the first degree and 30 in the second make up a bare 23.7 per cent. The dramatic fall in the proportion of first classes is evidently due in part to the attractions of the I.A.S. for the academically better-qualified candidates. There is, indeed, room for some concern over this, but the picture gets into perspective if we remember that the majority of those who do not have a first class, have a second and the remarks about first classes in general made in connection with the I.A.S. apply to them as well.

Performance in the Competitive Examination

We shall analyse the same characteristics of examination performance as in the case of the I.A.S. and begin by looking at the alphas, betas and others. In the first period—there is a high proportion (35 per cent) of 'alphas'—or those who come within the first 25 ranks in the first attempt and of 'betas' (26.9 per cent) or those who secure the first 25 ranks in the second attempt or second 25 in the first attempt. *This is of course misleading as the ranks were given on a State basis*—but it highlights the fact that most of those selected for the I.P.S. joined it and stayed on.⁵ As soon as all-India ranking was adopted in 1957 and the candidates who secured high ranks simultaneously in the I.A.S. and I.P.S. started opting for the former in larger numbers, the number and proportion of true 'alphas' and 'betas' fell sharply in the second period. Thus, there are barely 13 'alphas' (3.4 per cent) and 33 'betas' (8.6 per cent) with 62 'gammas' (16 per cent). The fall might have seemed less sharp if the pre-1957 ranking had been made on an all-India basis.

The 'alphas' and 'betas' of the first period show slightly better education and attainments than the others (see Table 23); of the 135 'alphas', 24 are sons of higher civil servants, 37 of professionals, and eighteen of the richer land-owners. Over half of them, thus, belong to the upper middle-class. Seven have been to public schools, one to a convent school and 66 (48.9 per cent) to the better colleges. Forty-six secured first classes in their first degree and 20 in their second degree, making up a slightly higher proportion (48.9 per cent) of the first classes than the average for the period. A high proportion (45.9

per cent) have taken part in scouting or national cadet activities and a high proportion (38.5 per cent) have also secured more than 50 per cent in the interview.

The 104 'betas' follow closely. Three of them had been to public schools, six to convent schools and 49 (47.1 per cent) to the better collegss. Nineteen are sons of higher civil servants, 26 of professionals and 14 of richer land-owners, constituting a total of more than half from the upper middle-class. Thirty-four secured first classes in their first degree and seven in the second, constituting a good 39.4 per cent of first classes. Forty-seven (45.2 per cent) took part in scouting or N.C.C. activities, but only 20 (19.2 per cent) secured over 50 per cent in the interview.

We shall lump the small number of 'alphas' and 'betas' together for the second period. Of these 46 'alphas' and 'betas', a high proportion (63.1 per cent) are sons of higher civil servants (17) or better-off professionals (12). Six went to public schools and three to convent schools. They make up a good fifth of the total. Twenty-five (54.3 per cent) went to the better colleges, though only nine (19.6 per cent) secured first classes. However, 19 (41.3 per cent) took part in scouting and National Cadet Corps activities, while thirty (65.2 per cent) secured over 50 per cent at the interview. To sum up, the small "alpha-beta" group is a select one in regard to social origins and accomplishments—if not of academic achievement—and fairly close to its counterparts in the I.A.S. and I.F.S.

There are 62 'gammas' consisting of those coming within the third 25 in the first attempt, second 25 in the second attempt or first 25 in the third attempt. These include 14 sons of higher civil servants and nine sons of professionals, belonging to the upper middle-class; six sons of school teachers and 17 sons of lower civil servants, belonging to the lower-middle class; the rest are businessmen and bigger farmers. Three had been to public schools, three to convent schools and 26 (41.9 per cent) to the better colleges. Fourteen secured first classes in the first degree and six in the second. Together, they make up about a third of their numbers. Eighteen (29 per cent) took part in scouting or National Cadet activities and 27 (43.5 per cent) secured over 50 per cent in the interview. The 'gammas' are thus somewhat different from the rest in their social origins, their better academic achievement and interview performance, but are not as exclusive as the "alpha-betas". The Police Service of this period consists largely of the others ('deltas', etc.) who are mostly non-public-school, second-class graduates with a lower level of academic achievement and indifferent performance at the interview (as judged by the proportion getting over 50 per cent).

The Interview

What is the general relationship between the performance of the recruits in the written papers and the interview? The question is of special interest in regard to the I.P.S., the examination for which bears the highest ratio of interview marks (300) to the marks in the written papers (850). During the first period, when a qualifying minimum of 35 per cent was prescribed for the interview, the relationship was rather orderly (see Table 26). The vast majority of the recruits (*i.e.* 364 or 94 per cent) secured between 45 and 60 per cent in the written papers, but had a wider range of interview marks, ranging from 35 per cent to 75 per cent. Of these 74 per cent (288) got below 50 per cent at the interview forming an identifiable inner-core group of the I.P.S. The other group of 76, getting more than 50 per cent in the interview, may be called the outer-core group. Together with the inner-core group, it nearly accounted for the total strength. The stragglers were few indeed. The bulk of the I.P.S. of the first period was clearly made up, almost uniformly, of recruits with a lower performance in the written papers than the I.A.S., I.F.S. and the Accounts Services and middling performance in the interview.

The picture has changed strikingly after 1957. The numbers outside the old inner and outer core-group (of those getting between 45 and 60 per cent in the written papers and 35 and 75 per cent at the interview) is 72 or 21 per cent of the total. Of these, the 64 at the top three rows would have been rejected under the old rules, prescribing a minimum of 35 per cent for the interview. A group of 27 on the extreme left are those getting rather low marks in the written papers too. The old core-group has now shrunk to 311 (81 per cent) and consists of an inner core-group of 203 (65%) securing less than 50 per cent at the interview and a proportionately larger outer core-group of 109 (35%) securing over 50 per cent in it. To sum up, the large inner core-group partnered by a small outer core-group of the first period, has been replaced by a smaller inner core-group (partnered by a larger outer core-group) and an extreme group outside the core—one of 64 getting low interview marks including 27 getting low written marks as well.

Can interview marks be correlated with any other characteristic? We noticed that there is a little correlation in the first period between the interview marks and marks in the written papers. Even this small correlation is reduced by the confusion of the second period. There seems to be little correlation with public or convent-schooling, education in the better colleges or the securing of a first class or even scouting and membership of N.C.C. (see Table 38).

Now, let us see how many recruits chose the Police Service as their first, second or third preference when attempting the examination. In the first period, 68 (17.6 per cent) gave it as their first preference, 35 their second (9 per cent) and 168 (43.4 per cent) their third, with the rest giving it a still lower preference. Nearly the same pattern of preferences obtains in the second period too, with 68 first preferences (17.6 per cent) 37 seconds (9.6 per cent) and 154 thirds (40 per cent). This naturally compares unfavourably with the I.A.S. and I.F.S., but rather favourably with some of the less coveted Central Services. The preferences are usually expressed with little knowledge of the conditions of service and would not significantly affect a recruit's performance as an officer, but they give—particularly to the Government of India—the prestige rating of each service, which is based upon its rather vague public image. In this light, all Services other than the I.A.S., I.F.S. and the Accounts services have suffered some undeserved damage.

An Overview

The Indian Police Service differs mainly in degree from the Indian Administrative and Foreign Services : in regard to State-wise and language-wise distribution and the proportion of those with inter-State involvements, the difference is small; in regard to the occupation of fathers, it draws a little more from the lower civil servants and school-teachers of the lower middle class and from farmers, rich and poor. The difference as regards educational attainments and performance in the examination is considerable. The proportion of first classes—which was lower than that of the I.A.S., in the first period—falls very low indeed in the second period. In the written papers of the examination too, the I.P.S. recruits are all in the 45 to 60 per cent bracket, compared to the majority in the 50 to 65 per cent bracket for I.A.S. and I.F.S. However, their performance at the interview is better, though not comparable to that of the recruits to the Foreign Service. In short, it is a Service consisting of less academically qualified young men with more social poise, drawn from a broader social background.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. This old rule, in operation for many years, was included in *The Indian Police Service (Recruitment) Rules*, 1954 as Rule 8.

2. The States Reorganisation Commission was appointed to report on the reorganisation of States in India on a linguistic basis and on problems arising therefrom. Their report was submitted in October 1955 and was mostly accepted and implemented in the course of 1956-1957. Their main recommendation in regard to All-India Services—*i.e.*, the Indian Administrative and Police Services was that “as far as possible, about 50 per cent of the new entrants in any cadre of an existing All-India Service should be from outside the State concerned”. In implementing this recommendation in regard to the I.P.S. the Government of India had first of all to introduce all-India ranking of successful candidates in place of ranking State by State. This was first done in 1956 when publishing the results of the competitive examination of 1955.

For a detailed account of the steps taken in implementing the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, see *Rajya Sabha Debates*, 8th September, 1961.

3. The reader is now familiar with the concept of ‘alphas’ and ‘betas’ used in the two earlier chapters.

In the case of the I.P.S., for the period 1947-1956, these terms are somewhat misleading as the ranking was State-wise and not India wide. *The correct all-India ranks were determined by this writer for the recruits as such on the basis of their total marks*, but this does not take into account many non-recruits who might have ranked higher than recruits on an India-wide basis. Hence, the ranks for this period even after corrective re-ranking for recruits (only) are unreliable. The concept of ‘alphas’ and ‘betas’ is however, used firstly for the sake of consistency and secondly to distinguish the comparatively better performers, even with the help of a less rigorous criterion.

4. None of these four sons of artisans and workers went to a public or convent school or to a better college, or secured a first class (though three have second classes), but one of them gained more than 50 per cent marks in the interview and two were ‘alphas’.

5. See Footnote 3 for observations on ‘alphas’ and ‘betas’ of the 1947-1956 period.

5. THE CENTRAL SERVICES

Under the general classification called Central Services are included ten different Services, some old and others new. At the top of the list is the old and well-known Indian Audit and Accounts Service (I.A. and A.S. for short) once famous as the "Financial Civil Service". The youngest, but quite a prestigious Service, is the Central Information Service, created in 1960. In between are eight other Services each with its own chequered history. The Indian Railway Accounts Service has a continuous tradition from the late twenties as a first-class Service. The Indian Postal Service, on the other hand, was for many years a Service of Second-class Postal Superintendents. Similarly, the majority of Income Tax Officers were ranked second-class officers. It was in the course of the early fifties that these Services were reorganized as first-class Services and named afresh. They were then grouped together with other similar Services for purposes of competition.¹ While each of these Services is different from the other in the nature of its work and organization, they have enough in common to justify being grouped together as the Central Services; in the first place, their officers are entirely under the control of the Union (or Central) Government, unlike the recruits of the I.A.S. and I.P.S. who are assigned to various State Government cadres and secondly, their daily work lies much more in the office than in the field. Mainly because of such common features, they are also grouped for the purposes of competitive examination—with three optional subjects (as against five for the I.A.S. and I.F.S. and two for the I.P.S.) for the written examination and a maximum of 300 for the interview (as against 400 for the I.F.S. and I.A.S.).²

Recruitment to most of these Services was never entirely suspended, not even during the Second World War. The intake, since 1947, has increased at a faster rate than for the I.A.S. or I.P.S., particularly in the fifties. Thus, two of these Services, alone, Indian Income Tax Service, and Transportation (Traffic) & Commercial Departments of the Superior Revenue Establishment of Indian Railways took in over 1,000 recruits during the post-Independence years. This makes it somewhat difficult to study the total population of recruits to all the Central Services. It also seems pointless again to indulge in such a detailed study, as the recruits to the different Central Services are broadly alike in many ways. No such study is attempted here either of the total membership of all the Services or of a random sample thereof. Instead, the Services are broadly divided into two groups. The first group comprises the two old and still sought-after Accounts

Services, namely, the Indian Audit and Accounts Service and the Indian Railway Accounts Service. The other Services are lumped together into a second group. We study in detail the total population of recruits to the Accounts Services and to two of the somewhat less glamorous Services in the second group, namely, the Indian Postal Service and the Indian Customs and Central Excise Service.³ This is supplemented by a study of promotee officers in the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, thus providing a good general view of the Central Services.

THE ACCOUNTS SERVICES

It is no secret that the two Accounts Services, namely the Indian Audit and Accounts Service and the Indian Railway Accounts Service are put on the top of the list of Central Services by the majority of candidates when expressing their preferences which are duly noted by the Government of India in allocating successful candidates to various Services. The reasons for this preference are partly practical and partly traditional. It is widely believed that rates of promotion are faster in these Services, though this has not been, to my knowledge, quantitatively established. It is also understood that the best members of these Services are eligible to occupy some top posts in the Government of India that are usually the preserve of the I.A.S. They are also the oldest of the Central Services. The I.A. and A.S., once known as the Financial Civil Service goes back to the second decade of this century and the I.R.A.S. was formed in the early thirties. In the first three decades of this century, when a young Indian had generally to go to England to compete for the 'heaven-born' Service, the bright but poor lads competed keenly for the F.C.S. in India.⁴ It could then boast of attracting the pick of the Indian universities, having had on its rolls such men as Nobel Laureate Raman, and at least three others who were later appointed Governors. While part of the glamour has worn off, the two Accounts Services still maintain a separate and prestigious identity at least among the Central Services.

Distribution by States and Languages

As in the case of all the Services studied earlier, there are serious imbalances in the distribution of recruits by their States of birth (see Table 1), in both periods. The States of Kerala, Madras, Mysore and Punjab are clearly over-represented. Assam and West Bengal are over-represented for the second period and Kashmir for the first period only. The displaced persons from Pakistan and the Delhi-born are strongly over-represented, while all other States are under-represented in some degree or other. Just as in the case of the other

Services, Assam has increased its representation for the second period, strikingly, largely because of the recruitment of Scheduled Tribe candidates from there under special provisions. The distinguishing feature in the Accounts Services is the high degree of over-representation in the case of Madras and Kerala. As we shall see later, these very States are strongly over-represented among the promotee officers too, revealing a local tradition of seeking entry into the Accounts Services.

There are corresponding imbalances in the distribution of recruits by their mother-tongue. Thus, the over-representation of Malayalam, Tamil and Punjabi broadly corresponds to the over-representation of the States of Kerala, Madras and Punjab. The co-efficient is higher for the last two languages than for the corresponding States. In the same fashion, Bengali is over-represented while Bengal is under-represented. These can well be attributed to a number of the speakers of these languages, born and resident outside the State, competing successfully at the examination. This is augmented in the case of Punjabi and Bengali by a good number of keen 'displaced' candidates from Pakistan who speak these languages.

These imbalances are less serious than they appear for nearly the same reasons as in the case of the other Services. We saw, in the case of the I.A.S., that candidates from each State roughly seem to succeed in proportion to the numbers competing. This is likely to be true of the Accounts Services as well. Secondly, imbalances are already being ironed out by the fact that practically all the under-represented States have increased their representation somewhat in the second-period—Assam being actually over-represented. Lastly, a good proportion of recruits are involved with more than one State or language. We shall now look into the last mentioned phenomenon.

Inter-State Involvements

In the first period, 47 out of the 175 (excluding the 37 born in Pakistan) or about 27 per cent were resident outside their States of birth at the time of applying for the examination and this has risen in the second period to 88 out of 209 (excluding the 29 Pakistan-born) or 41.6 per cent (see Table 3). In both periods, the proportion is clearly higher than for the I.P.S. and fairly close to that for the I.A.S. and I.F.S. Adding the Pakistan-born (who are widely distributed over many States other than Punjab and Bengal), their numbers rise to 84 (or about 40 per cent) in the first period and 117 (48.7 per cent) in the second. A high proportion of the recruits take the examination outside their States of birth (see Table 5). One hundred and four out of 175 or about 59 per cent (excluding the Pakistan-born) did so during the first period and 121 out of 209 (excluding the Pakistan-

born) or over 59 per cent did so during the second period. During both periods, Delhi claimed about a third of the successful recruits, 67 in the first (31.6 per cent) and 71 in the second (29.3 per cent) with Madras, Bombay and Calcutta together claiming the bulk of the rest (93 in the first period and 109 in the second).

There is a substantial number of recruits in both periods, whose mother-tongues are different from the language of the State in which they are born. There are 42 such recruits (24.6 per cent) in the first period—excluding the Pakistan-born—and 59 (about 30 per cent) in the second period. The total number of inter-State affiliates (*i.e.* those resident outside their State of birth and those speaking at home a language other than that of their birth-State, avoiding double counting) is 66 and that of the Pakistan-born 37 for the first period. The corresponding numbers for the second period are 102 and 29, respectively. It is clear that about half the recruits in either period are non-parochial. In this regard, the Accounts Services are closer to the I.A.S. and I.F.S., rather than to the I.P.S.

Fathers and Sons

The distribution of the Accounts Services' recruits, according to their fathers' occupations, follows the general pattern observed in the other Services of over-representation of the salaried and professional middle class and gross under-representation of the agricultural and the working classes. But there are important differences, to wit, better representation for the salaried lower (rather than the upper) middle class and slightly better representation for the agricultural and working classes. Thus among civil servants, a larger proportion than in the I.A.S. are lower civil servants (47 per cent for the first period and 66.7 per cent for the second). The sons of school-teachers get better representation too—7.6 per cent and 8.4 per cent for the two periods as against 4 to 6.5 per cent in the I.A.S. Both these lower middle class groups have increased their representation in the second period—and so have the farmers who have doubled it from 7.55 to 13.0 per cent. This egalitarian trend is partly the result of the increasing recruitment from among candidates of the Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes—whose fathers are mostly farmers, artisans, teachers and lower civil servants. It is also partly accounted for by the increased recruitment to the Central Services—which gives more opportunities to lower middle class competitors.

Let us now look more closely into the characteristics of the sons from different occupational categories (Table 13). The 52 sons of higher civil servants of the first period are very similar to their counterparts in the I.A.S. Nineteen per cent went to public schools and 13.46

per cent more to convent schools making-up about a third of their numbers. Thirty-three (or 63.46 per cent) were educated in the better colleges. Forty per cent secured first classes in their first degree and 17.31 per cent in the second degree, making up 57.69 per cent of first class graduates. Their examination performance is slightly better than that of other groups; 44 got above 50 per cent in the written papers and 19.23 per cent secured over 50 per cent in the interview : 19.23 per cent come within the first 50 ranks and 38.46 per cent within the second 50, and 42.31 per cent ranking between 100 and 175.

The 47 sons of lower civil servants are clearly different in many regards. Only two had been to a public school and one to a convent school, but 20 (42.5 per cent) attended the better colleges. Eleven have first classes in their first degree and three others got a first in the second degree making up a bare 29.8 per cent of first classes. Their performance in the examination is nearly as good as that of the sons of higher civil servants; 39 secured marks over 50 per cent in the written papers, and at the interview 13 secured over 50 per cent. Four got within the next 50 and the rest secured ranks between 100 and 200.

The 61 sons of professionals (who include 16 sons of school-teachers) are more akin to the sons of higher civil servants. Only three of them have been to public schools and two to convent schools, but 33 (54 per cent) attended the better colleges. Thirty-four got first classes in their first degree and four others in their second degree, making up a good proportion (62.3 per cent) of first classes. Their performance in the examination is the best of any group; 50 (or 82 per cent) scored over 50 per cent in the written papers and 11 secured marks over 50 per cent at the interview. In the final ranking, 11 come within the first 50, 32 (over half) within the next 50 and the rest between the 100th and 200th ranks.

The 27 sons of businessmen and business employees have done just as well as the foregoing groups. Only one has been to a public school, but 12 (44.4 per cent) attended the better colleges and 11 got first classes in their first degree and three more in their second degree, making up a modest 51.8 per cent of first classes. They performed well in the written examination, with all of them scoring over 50 per cent. At the interview, only four scored over 50 per cent. In the final ranking, 10 come within the first 50, 12 within the second 50 and the other five between 100 and 175.

Among the 16 sons of farmers (who include some members of the Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes) there is one public-school boy and one convent-school boy among them and three alumni of the better colleges. Five got first classes in their first degree and another in the

second, making up a bare 37.5 per cent of first classes. Their performance in the examination is middling; 13 got above 50 per cent marks in the written papers, but only two got over 50 per cent in the interview. In the final ranking, only three got within the first 100 and another three within the second 100, while ten others were on the special list for Scheduled Castes.

None of the 9 sons of workers and artisans have been to a public or convent school, but four have been to the better colleges and two have got first classes. At the written examination, four of them scored over 50 per cent; but none got above 50 per cent in the interview. In the final ranking, three got within the first 100 ranks, two within the next 50 and the rest were on the special list for Scheduled Castes.

The characteristics of the different groups are broadly the same for the next period, even though their proportion has changed. The sons of higher civil servants are reduced to nearly half their proportion (from 24.5 per cent to 12.6 per cent of the recruits) and have also come down in quality. A smaller proportion, *i.e.*, six out of their 30 have been to public (1) or convent schools (5)—but 18 (60 per cent) have attended the better colleges. Ten (33.3 per cent) have first classes. Their performance in the examination is just as good as in the last period; the majority of 27 secured over 50 per cent in the written papers and 12 secured over 50 per cent at the interview; in the ranking, five got within the first 50, 14 within the second 50, the rest being placed between the 100th and 200th ranks.

The 60 sons of lower civil servants have slightly better qualifications. Two have been to public schools and four more to convent schools, but half of them (30) have been to the better colleges and 32 (53.4 per cent) have first classes—28 in the first degree and four in the second. The majority (54) scored over 50 per cent in the written examination and 17 got over 50 per cent at the interview. In the final ranking, 25 got within the first 50, 22 within the second 50 and the rest (excluding two in the special list) are placed between the 100th and 200th ranks.

Of the 61 sons of professionals, two have been to public schools and two others to convent schools, but 34 (55.7 per cent) have attended the better colleges. Twenty-six got first classes in their first degree and three in their second degree, making up a modest 47.5 per cent of first classes. At the written examination, the majority of 56 scored over 50 per cent; at the interview, 19 got over 50 per cent. In the final ranking, 12 got within the first 50 ranks, 23 within the second 50, 23 between 100 and 200 and the rest below 200.

The 45 sons of businessmen and business employees have two public-school boys among them and twelve who attended the better

colleges. Only 16 of them got first classes in their first degree and three more in the second—making up a modest 42.2 per cent of first classes. However, their performance in the examination is not below the general average; the majority of 35 secured over 50 per cent in the written papers and eight scored over 50 per cent at the interview. In the final ranking, eight got within the first 50, 13 within the second 50, 14 between 100 and 200 and ten secured ranks below 200.

The 31 sons of farmers fare perceptibly worse than the other groups in education and in the examination. None has been to a public or convent school, but 14 (45.2 per cent) have been to the better colleges. Ten got first classes in their first degree and two others in the second degree making up just 38.7 per cent of first classes. Twenty-one got above 50 per cent in the written examination but only three got over 50 per cent in the interview. In the final ranking, two got within the first 50, eight within the second 50 with ten between 100 and 200 and 11 are on the special list. Nine of the 31 are drawn from the Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes which partly explains the educational disadvantages of this group.

Of the 11 sons of workers and artisans, none has been to a public school or convent school, but two have attended the better colleges. Two have first classes in their first degree and one in his second degree. At the written examination, four secured marks above 50 per cent and two did so at the interview. In the final ranking, one got within the second 50, two between 100 and 200 and the rest are drawn from the special list. Eight of the eleven are from the Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes, and this partly explains the disadvantages of this group.

Summing up, the Accounts Services are drawn more from a lower stratum of the middle class than the I.A.S. and I.F.S. While the sons of higher civil servants enjoy nearly the same advantages as their counterparts in the I.A.S., the sons of lower civil servants, professionals and businessmen have fewer advantages than their I.A.S. and I.F.S. counterparts. Indeed, a rather large number in these categories (43 out of 166) obtained age concessions as lower civil servants already in the employment of Government Accounts establishments. The farmers' sons are evidently poor compared to the landowners' sons who have entered the Foreign Service and this is truer of the artisans. Excluding these extremes of the farmers' and artisans' sons at one end and the higher civil servants at the other, the Accounts Services have drawn heavily from the *hardworking and ambitious* sons of the lower middle class—who did not make the grade for the I.A.S.

Religion and Caste

During both periods, the Hindus are slightly over-represented and all religious minorities, except the Muslims, are over-represented too (see Table 7). The Brahmins are more strikingly over-represented in the Accounts Services than in the other Services, and have actually increased their over-representation in the second period—in contrast to their decreasing representation elsewhere.⁵

Education

During the first period, seventeen recruits came from public schools and another eleven from convent schools, making up a modest 13.2 per cent of the total. Their number and proportion fell sharply to seven public school and another ten convent school boys for the second period making up barely 7.1 per cent. It is clear that these schools play only a marginal part in the education of Accounts Officers. As for universities, the six major universities of Madras, Allahabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Punjab account for a lion's share of the recruits (83.02 per cent in the first and 76.88 per cent in the second period) with the Madras University dominating the picture. But the proportion of those who attended the better colleges is considerably less (47.5 per cent for the second period) than in the case of the I.A.S.

As for first classes, 94 obtained first classes in the first degree for the first period and another 21 in the second degree, making up 54.2 per cent of the first classes. For the second period 92 obtained first classes in their first degree and another 13 in the second, making up 44.1 per cent of first classes. The Accounts Services have a higher proportion of first classes than the I.P.S. but less than the I.A.S. and I.F.S. On the other hand, the fall in the proportion of first classes is less steep⁶. It is however interesting to note that a rather higher percentage (40.6 per cent in the first period and 39.5 per cent in the second period) of the recruits (compared to the I.A.S. or I.P.S.) are graduates in Mathematics or the Physical Sciences, and that the Economics graduates trail behind them.

Performance in the Competitive Examination

The majority of the recruits to the Accounts Services are drawn from among the first hundred successful candidates in the Central Services competitive examination. Thus, 150 recruits (70.8 per cent) of the first period and 123 (51.7 per cent) of the second period come from the first hundred ranks. This compares very favourably with the other Central Services and the I.P.S. but less than favourably with the I.A.S. and I.F.S. in which the majority of recruits were drawn from the first fifty in the first period. The percentage of the first fifties

fell sharply in the case of the I.A.S. from 90 per cent in the first period to 48.3 per cent in the second, whereas the fall is less sharp for the Accounts Services in regard to the percentage of the first hundreds. Similarly, in regard to the percentage of 'alphas' and 'betas' (14.15 per cent for the first period and 11.34 for the second) the Accounts Services fare better than the other Central Services and the I.P.S., but not as well as the I.A.S. and I.F.S.

Looking more closely into the characteristics of the 'alphas' and 'betas', numbering 30 for the first period (Table 23), we find that 11 are sons of higher civil servants, eight of professionals, five of businessmen, four of lower civil servants, one of a farmer and another of an artisan. Of these, the first two groups, totalling 19 (66.3 per cent), would rank as upper middle class. Five had been to public schools, two to convent schools and 16 (53.3 per cent) attended the better colleges. Sixteen secured first classes in their first degree, four in their second, making up a total of 20 first classes (66.7 per cent), but only eight (26.7 per cent) secured over 50 per cent marks in the interview. The 'alphas' and 'betas' of the first period come fairly close to the I.A.S. 'alphas' in academic achievement and, like them, are drawn largely from the upper middle class, but do not perform as well at the interview. The 'alphas' and 'betas' of the second period, numbering 27, include three sons of higher civil servants, ten of professionals, four of businessmen, two of farmers and eight of lower civil servants. The upper middle class element has come down to less than half. Only one has been to a public school and two to convent schools, but seventeen (63.0 per cent) attended the better colleges. Nineteen got first classes in their first degree and one in the second degree, making up a high proportion (74.1 per cent) of first classes and seven (25.9 per cent) secured over 50 per cent at the interview. The 'alpha-betas' of the second period are academically better than their first-period counterparts, have performed better at the interview, but are drawn less from the upper middle class.

The thirty-five 'gammas' of the first period include nine sons of higher civil servants, seven of professionals, six of businessmen, ten of lower civil servants, two of farmers and one of an artisan. Four have been to public schools, another three to convent schools, but as many as 23 (65.7 per cent) attended the better colleges. Twenty-four secured first classes in their first degree and three in their second, making up 77.1 per cent of first classes, but only thirteen (37.1 per cent) secured over 50 per cent at the interview. The 'gammas' of the first period are academically better than even the 'alphas' and 'betas', but fewer are drawn from the upper middle class. The twelve 'gammas' of the second period differ considerably from those of the first, being

mostly lower middle class and average in performance. Two are sons of higher civil servants, four of businessmen, three of farmers and three of lower civil servants. None has been to a public school, but two have been to convent schools and seven to the better colleges. Five have first classes and six got over 50 per cent at the interview.

The Interview

The recruits to the Accounts Services have performed nearly as well as the I.A.S. recruits in the written papers but their performance at the interview (see Table 27) is just middling. During the first period, the majority, *i.e.* 191 or 90 per cent secured between 45 and 60 per cent in the written papers and between 35 and 65 per cent in the interview. The main core-group within this majority consisted of 158 (74.1 per cent) who secured between 35 and 50 per cent at the interview, the other 33 constituting an outer core-group securing between 50 and 65 per cent in the interview. Outside these two groups, there are 11 who get more than 60 per cent in the written papers, but less than 50 per cent at the interview, two high performers securing over 55 per cent in the written papers and over 60 per cent in the interview, besides eight whose marks are somewhat in doubt. This rather tidy picture gives place to a confused one for the second period. The main core-group consisting of those getting between 45 and 60 per cent in the written papers and 35 and 50 in the interview has shrunk to 110 or 47.2 per cent and the outer core-group of those getting between 50 and 65 in the interview to 40 or 17.1 per cent. The remaining 83 fall into several motley groups; 50 get below the earlier prescribed minimum of 35 per cent in the interview—of whom 16 score between 60 and 70 per cent in the written and the rest below 60 per cent; ten get below 45 per cent in the written papers and below 25 per cent in the interview; twelve score over 65 per cent in the interview, but between 45 and 60 per cent in the written papers, and of these five do well in both, scoring over 55 per cent in the written papers and over 65 per cent in the interview. Two features stand out in all this confusion; the percentage of those getting below 35 per cent in the interview is rather high (21 per cent) and there is even less correlation between the marks in the interview and in the written papers than there was in the first period.

The recruits to the Accounts Services during the first period are mostly moderate interviewees, the majority of 158 (74.1 per cent) securing marks below 50 per cent—while the corresponding majority of the second period 150 (64.3 per cent) includes a third (50) of less than moderate interviewees getting 30 per cent. An analysis of the characteristics of the better and ordinary interviewees reveals no cor-

relation between interview marks, schooling, extra-curricular activities or academic performances.⁷

An Overview

The Accounts Services draw their examination recruits largely from the lower middle class. A good proportion of them are sons of lower civil servants and school-teachers and many of the rest are sons probably of the less prosperous lawyers and business employes. They come from families with (a median figure of) five children including the recruit.⁸ About the same proportion of recruits as in the case of the I.A.S. are inter-State movers—moving perhaps under great economic pressure. A larger proportion than in any other Service are Brahmmins of the hard-working lower middle class. They include very few public-school and convent-school boys, but a good number are the alumni of better colleges and have nearly as good a proportion of first classes as the I.A.S. Their performance at the interview is rather modest, but they do nearly as well as the recruits to the I.A.S. in the written papers. All these characteristics are typical of the ambitious lower middle class youth of India determined to climb up from his class. Indeed, some of these are found among the promoted officers too—as revealed by a survey of the promotees in the Indian Audit and Accounts Service.

Promotee Officers of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service

The internal regulations of the I.A. and A.S. reserve a percentage of its posts for promotees (20 per cent at the moment) from the lower ranks of the Audit and Accounts establishment of the Government of India. A reliable picture of this group is attempted here on the basis of particulars gathered concerning 111 out of a total of 115 such officers.

In regard to distribution by their States of birth or their mother-tongue, they differ only in degree from the direct recruits. In regard to the former (see Table 34), nearly the same percentage of promotees were born in Madras (and Andhra Pradesh) as direct recruits, but a lower percentage of promotees were born in all the other States (except W. Bengal). This is indicative of a fairly old tradition, in Madras, of entering the Accounts Services and working one's way up. The percentage of displaced persons from Pakistan is high—twice as high, indeed, as among the direct recruits. This is obviously the result of the opting for India in 1947 of a good number of Hindu officers of the I.A. & A.S. serving in the areas now constituting Pakistan. As for distribution by mother-tongue (see Table 35), the Tamil-speakers constitute the same high proportion of promotees as of direct recruits, those speaking Bengali and Punjabi form a higher proportion of the

former than of the latter, while the reverse is true of other language-groups. The high proportion of Tamil-speakers corresponds to the high proportion of those born in the State of Madras and is attributable to the same reason. Similarly, a large proportion of the displaced persons speak Punjabi and Bengali, thus accounting for the higher proportion of the latter.

As in the case of direct recruits, nearly 80 per cent of the promotees are drawn from the urban salaried and professional middle class (see Table 36), indicating that the dominance of this class in the Civil Service is at least two generations old. But a higher proportion of this class—than in the case of direct recruits—would belong to the lower middle class. Thus, the lower civil servants (constituting 32.4 per cent) and the school-teachers (constituting 13.5 per cent) together make up 45.9 per cent. This is apart from the less prosperous lawyers and business employees and the poorer farmers and artisans who form nearly 20 per cent, while the doctors and university lecturers form a very small proportion indeed. The bulk of the promotees come from the urban lower middle class and the poorer agricultural and artisan class with (median) families of five children. Even more significant is the fact that more than half of them (57) lost their fathers before they completed their education, compared with the small proportion (5 per cent) of direct recruits who suffered similarly. All this and the general lack of opportunity in the twenties, thirties and even the forties of this century account for their eager entry into the lower rungs of the Accounts Services. The slow promotion of a majority of them (85.6 per cent) well after their 35th year—was again due to the stagnation of the thirties and forties, even though their educational attainments were not far below (62 first classes or 55.9 per cent of the total) those of direct recruits.⁹

THE CUSTOMS AND POSTAL SERVICES

The recruits to these two Services are usually taken from successful candidates obtaining ranks lower than those obtained by the recruits to the Accounts Services in the combined examination for Central Services. It is interesting to find out how different these are from recruits to the Accounts Services and other Services in general.

Distribution by States and Languages

The distribution of recruits by their States of birth (see Table 1) follows the same broad pattern observed in the case of all other Services, namely, a pattern of over-representation of States such as Kerala, Madras, Mysore, Maharashtra and Punjab, of strong over-representation of those born in Delhi and the area now constituting

Pakistan and of under-representation of most other States. The pattern has changed somewhat in the second period with an increase in representation for some under-represented States. The reasons leading to the over-representation of some States are presumably the same as in the case of other Services. A similar pattern of unbalanced representation obtains in the distribution of recruits by their mother-tongue (see Table 2) with over-representation for Bengali, Punjabi, Tamil and Malayalam during both periods. The over-representation of the last two correspond broadly to the over-representation of the States of Madras and Kerala and the higher co-efficient of representation of Malayalam-speakers than that of those born in Kerala arises from a number of them being born outside Kerala State. Similarly, the greater co-efficient of representation of those speaking Punjabi and Bengali, in comparison with that of Punjab and West Bengal, flows from a number of Punjabi and Bengali-speaking successful candidates born in the other States of India, augmented by those displaced from Pakistan and speaking these languages.

Against these regional and linguistic imbalances, we may set the same compensating factors as in the case of other Services. In the first place, under-represented States, such as Assam and Orissa, have improved their representation—Assam from 0.62 to 0.97 and Orissa from 0 to 0.82—while Mysore, over-represented in the first period, is actually under-represented in the second. Secondly, a good proportion of the recruits in both periods are involved with more than one State or language.

Inter-State Involvements

Of the 66 recruits of the first period, 16 (24.2 per cent) were resident outside the States of their birth and, along with the twelve born in the Pakistan area, make up 42.4 per cent of the recruits. In the second period, 34 out of 152 (22.3 per cent) were similarly resident outside their birth-State and, including the 29 born in the Pakistan area, make up 40.8 per cent of the recruits. In regard to examination centres, the majority of 38 (about 60 per cent), including the Pakistan-born, took the examination outside their States in the first period. Delhi claimed 22, Bombay 11, Calcutta 10, and Madras 17. In the second period, 82 (54 per cent) took the examination outside their States of birth and Delhi claimed 35, Bombay 22, Calcutta 9 and Madras 29. As for the relationship between their mother-tongues and States of birth, 12 recruits (22.2 per cent) of the first period, out of the 54 born in the various States of India, spoke at home a language other than that of their birth-State while in the second period 23 (18.7 per cent) out of 123 did so. Summing up, about a fourth of the recruits are resident outside their States of birth. Adding the displaced

persons from Pakistan, the percentage rises to about 40. About a sixth of the recruits speak at home a language other than that of their birth-State. Adding up, without double counting, the inter-State affiliates number 33 (50 per cent) for the first period and 71 (46.7 per cent) for the second. Their proportion is thus not far below that in the case of the I.A.S. and the Accounts Services.

Fathers and Sons

According to Table 6, giving the distribution of recruits by their father's occupations, the salaried and professional (middle) classes are strongly over-represented and the farmers and artisans are under-represented, as in the case of all the other Services. The under-representation here is, however, less gross than elsewhere. Again, the former group contains a large lower middle class element of lower civil servants and school-teachers, constituting together 33.3 per cent in the first period and 34.2 per cent in the second. Only a small proportion (18.2 per cent in the first period and 15.8 per cent in the second) of the distinctly upper middle class higher civil servants and doctors are included. The Customs and Postal Services are clearly drawn from a wider social background than the other Services.

Looking into the characteristics of the sons from different occupational groups, (Table 14) we find that only one of the eight sons of higher civil servants of the first period had been to a public school, but seven attended the better colleges. Only two secured first classes in their degrees and none scored over 50 per cent at the interview. As against this, the sons of lower civil servants, numbering 17, have done slightly better. None of them went to a public or convent school, but nine attended the better colleges. Eight got first classes in their first degree and two in their second, making up nearly 60 per cent of first classes—two secured over 50 per cent marks at the interview.

The 23 sons of professionals, including five sons of school-teachers, have no public or convent-school boys among them, but 14 are alumni of the better colleges. Seven got first classes in their first degree, and three in the second—making up 43.5 per cent of first classes—and five secured above 50 per cent marks at the interview.

Of the eight sons of businessmen and business executives, none has been to a public or convent school, but four attended the better colleges. Two got first classes in their degree and none secured over 50 per cent at the interview. Of the eight sons of landowners and farmers, one went to a public school and five attended the better colleges. Four got first classes in the first degree and one in his second degree—making up a good 62.5 per cent of first classes—but only one secured over 50 per cent marks at the interview. The two sons of artisans and workers have not been to public or convent schools, but

both attended the better colleges and one secured a first class in his degree. Interestingly enough, the farmers' and artisans' sons have done slightly better academically than the other groups, in addition to being better represented.

Of the eighteen sons of higher civil servants in the second period, one went to a public school and nine to the better colleges. Six got first classes in their first degree, another in his second degree, making up 38.9 per cent of first classes—and seven secured over 50 per cent marks at the interview. The forty sons of lower civil servants include no public or convent-school boy, but twenty alumni of the better colleges. Fourteen got first classes in their first degree, five in their second—making up nearly half their numbers—and six secured over 50 per cent marks at the interview.

The 38 sons of professionals, including a dozen sons of school-teachers, count one public and two convent-school boys among themselves and 16 alumni of the better colleges. Eleven got first classes in their first degree, one in his second degree, making up 31.5 per cent of first classes—and nine secured over 50 per cent marks at the interview.

The 25 sons of businessmen and business executives include no public or convent-school boys but ten alumni of the better colleges. Seven got first classes in their first degree and three in the second, making up 40 per cent of first classes. Two got over 50 per cent marks at the interview.

The 25 sons of farmers do not have any public or convent-school boys and only four of them attended the better colleges. Seven got first classes in their degree and two secured over 50 per cent marks at the interview. The five sons of artisans and workers include no public or convent-school boys, no alumni of the better colleges and no first classes, but one scored over 50 per cent at the interview. The academic and general quality of the recruits from farmers' and artisans' families has come down sharply while the quality in regard to other occupations has come down too—but less sharply.

Religion and Caste

As in the other Services, all religious minorities (excepting Muslims) are over-represented, while the Hindus just break even (see Table 7). The Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes, grossly under-represented in the first period, have gained better representation in the second period through the special provisions made for their recruitment. The Brahmins are almost as highly over-represented as in the Accounts Services.

Education

The Customs and Postal Services include very few public and convent-school boys—two from public-schools and one from a con-

vent in the first period and two public and two convent-school boys in the second—but they drew a good percentage of their recruits from the better colleges—62.1 per cent in the first period and somewhat less, *i.e.*, 42.1 per cent in the second. The majority for both periods (75.8 per cent in the first period and 69.1 per cent in the second) were drawn from the six major Universities of Madras, Allahabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Punjab, with Madras contributing nearly a third of their total. They have not done badly in regard to first classes. During the first period, twenty-four secured first classes in their first degree and seven in their second, making up 47 per cent of first classes. In the second period, forty-seven got first classes in their first degree and eleven in their second, making up 38.2 per cent of first classes.¹⁰

Performance in the Competitive Examination

The Customs and Postal Services drew the majority of their recruits (34 out of 66 or 51.53 per cent) from the first hundred ranks before 1956, but afterwards the majority was made up of candidates from the second hundred (64) and third hundred (59), while those drawn from the first hundred shrank to 29 out of 152 or 19.1 per cent. This sharp fall is explained by the increased intake in all the Services since 1956, with the more prestigious Services claiming more and more successful candidates from the higher ranks.

There is a similar fall in the proportion of 'alphas', 'betas' and 'gammas'. There are no 'alphas' in the first period, but six 'betas' and eight 'gammas'—making up 21.2 per cent of the total, whereas, in the second period, there are two 'alphas', one 'beta' and two 'gammas', making up a poor 3.3 per cent of the total. Looking into their characteristics, we find that the 'betas' and 'gammas' of the first period include six sons of professionals, one of a businessman, four of lower civil servants, two of farmers and one of an artisan. There is only one public-school boy among them, but nine alumni of better colleges (64.3 per cent). Six have first classes in their first degree, and two in their second, making up 57.2 per cent of first classes—but only two have scored over 50 per cent marks at the interview. The five 'alphas', 'betas' and 'gammas' of the second period include two sons of higher civil servants, one of a professional, and two of lower civil servants. There are no public or convent-school boys among them and none has been to a better college. There are, however, two first classes among them and two secured over 50 per cent marks at the interview. The fall in the proportion of 'alphas', 'betas' and 'gammas' seems to be accompanied by a lower level of academic achievement and lower social origins.

The recruits have performed moderately in the written papers as well as at the interview in the first period. The large majority of 54 (81.8 per cent) got between 45 and 60 per cent in the written papers and between 35 and 55 in the interview. This core-group has shrunk to 59 per cent in the second period, with the remaining being divided into several motley groups. Thus, there are 36 who get below the earlier prescribed minimum of 35 per cent at the interview; of these, eight score between 60 and 65 per cent in the written papers, 28 between 40 and 60 per cent. There are several other groups too, scoring widely over the ranges. The fairly orderly pattern of marks in the written papers and the interview of the first period has been replaced by a confused picture. All in all, the recruits to the Customs and Postal Services are marked by poor interview performance; indeed the large majority—58 out of 66 in the first period and 117 out of 152 in the second—score below 50 per cent in the interview. The last group includes 36 in the second period who get below 35 per cent—of whom 23 fail to score even 20 per cent.

An Overview

The Customs and Postal Services have suffered a rather drastic sea-change in quality in the second period—due to the increased intake of the other more prestigious Services. In the first period, they were fairly close to the Accounts Services in several regards; they were broadly drawn from the lower middle class, had a good proportion (52.1 per cent) of the alumni of the better colleges and a reasonable proportion of first classes (46.97 per cent), with the majority of recruits drawn from the first hundred ranks. In the second period, it is still drawn broadly from the same class, but the proportion of first classes has fallen from 46.97 per cent to 38.2 per cent, the proportion of the alumni of the better colleges from 62.1 per cent to 42.1 per cent, and the proportion of those within the first hundred ranks from 51.5 per cent to 19.1 per cent, while the proportion of those with low marks in the written papers and interview has increased. Even after this change, its overall quality is perhaps better than that of some State Administrative Services.

A Note on Promoted Officers

A survey of 27 promoted officers shows that they are drawn largely from the same class as the direct-recruits; five are sons of higher civil servants, five of businessmen and business employees, three of farmers and two of artisans. The dominance of the urban middle class in civil service recruitment is thus seen to be fairly old. They include eight first classes altogether (30 per cent), five alumni of the better colleges

and five public and convent-school boys. Thus, in social origins and academic achievement they are not far behind the direct recruits—but twenty of them (78.1 per cent) lost their fathers before they had completed their education. This and the general lack of opportunity during the twenties, thirties and even forties, accounts for their late promotion—well after their 35th year.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. The following is the complete list of Central Services as on the 1st of January, 1965.

Central Information Service.

Indian Audit and Accounts Service.

Indian Customs and Central Excise Service.

Indian Defence Accounts Service.

Indian Income-tax Service.

Indian Ordnance Factories Service.

(Asst. Manager—non-technical).

Indian Postal Service.

Indian Railway Accounts Service.

Military Lands and Cantonments Service .

Transportation (Traffic) and Commercial Departments of the Superior Revenue Establishment of Indian Railways.

2. For a few years, that is from 1947 to 1950, the examination for the older Central Services was the same as for the I.A.S. with the same 300 marks for the interview and with just three optional subjects. The examination for the I.A.S. was made stiffer, thereafter, by increasing the number of optionals to five and the maximum marks for the interview to 400. Since the completion of this study, further changes have occurred in the maximum marks for the interview or personality test.

Please see also Footnote 2 to Chapter 3.

3. The Indian Postal Service and the Indian Customs and Central Excise Service are by no means the least glamorous of the Central Services. They were taken up for study mainly because the information regarding their direct recruits was easily available in New Delhi itself whereas the information concerning the more numerous Indian Income-Tax Service was scattered in a number of offices all over India.

4. It was not till 1926 that a Central Public Service Commission was established in India to conduct examinations for the ICS on Indian soil. In regard to the early history of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, see S. Ramayyar : *The Indian Audit and Accounts Service*, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 1967.

5. The over-representation of Brahmins in this service also ties in with the over-representation of the Madras State. It is likely that this particular type of examination suits the lower middle class from which most of the Brahmin candidates of Madras would be drawn.

6. The fall seems to be less steep possibly because the group which it attracts includes a higher percentage of mathematics and science graduates among whom the proportion of first classes has always been higher and has been steadily increasing.

7. This is so for all the Services except the I.F.S.
8. Figures regarding the number of brothers and sisters were available from 1949 onwards for this Service from their medical examination reports filed together with the applications.
9. This is one of the Services in which the academic quality of the promotees is no worse than that of the direct recruits. Hence increasing the percentage of promotees to a higher figure might produce less harm while broadening the social composition. Of course, such a policy will have to take into account other considerations which we do not discuss here.
10. Here again, the fall is less steep, partly because the proportion of first classes was not high to start with and partly because of a slightly higher proportion of science and mathematics graduates.

6. THE SCHEDULED CASTE AND WOMEN RECRUITS

It is interesting, from more than one viewpoint, to look into the characteristics of two special groups of recruits in the Services studied namely, the members of Scheduled Castes (and Scheduled Tribes) and women. The first attracts attention—as a long oppressed class which is being encouraged to enter State employment with special concessions. The success of the second group in entering the higher civil service in good numbers demands some explanation, particularly against the background of old legends about suppressed Indian womanhood.

SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

The recruitment of candidates from the Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes into the Services has three sides to it—the constitutional, the political and the administrative. The uplift of the Scheduled Castes (more widely known as Untouchables) numbering several millions, was an important plank in the platform of the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. India's constitution makers honoured this commitment twice over in the Constitution—first by abolishing all forms of discrimination based on caste and religion and secondly by encouraging positive measures to pull up the Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes socially, educationally and economically.¹ Thus Article 15 in general enjoins equality before the law and in things public, and Article 16 prescribes equality of opportunity for all citizens in regard to State employment and forbids specifically, discrimination based upon religion and caste. But the constitutional abolition of an age-old discrimination was seen to be rather a passive and inadequate step towards helping the Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes who could not pull themselves up without positive measures. Room was therefore made for such measures in clause (4) of Article 16 and by the addition of clause (4) to Article 15 by the first Constitution Amendment Act of 1951. The said clauses read as follows :—

16(4). Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which in the opinion of the State is not adequately represented in the Service under the State.

15(4). Nothing in this Article or in clause (2) of Article 29, shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

A more specific provision was made also in Article 335 for making appointments to the various Services from the members of the Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes in the following words :

335. The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration in the making of appointments to Services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State.

Action was taken under the above Articles when the Ministry of Home Affairs elaborated suitable steps to implement them in 1950 and notified officially² that :—

Candidates will be considered in order of merit for appointment to the vacancies in the Services that are decided to be filled and for which they may be eligible : Provided that in the case of the Indian Administrative Service/Police Service, any candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes declared by the Commission to be suitable for appointment thereto with due regard to the maintenance of efficiency of administration shall be entitled to appointment to vacancies reserved for members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, as the case may be, in these Services.

This measure was also extended to other Services, such as the various Central Services. The number of vacancies thus reserved may not exceed $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the vacancies for the Scheduled Castes and 5 per cent for the Scheduled Tribes. From 1956 onwards, a substantial number of Sc. Caste and Sc. Tribe candidates have been recruited under these provisions.

The usual number recruited annually, before 1956, was comparatively small. Thus, from 1947 upto 1956, less than two dozen candidates were taken from the general list of all the Services put together. The number increased from about five for each Service in the examination of 1956 to more than 30 for the Central Services alone, in the 1963 examination, from the special list.³ This list, made up of vacancies reserved for candidates from the Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes, is filled by taking in candidates *only* from the Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes

in *their* order of merit, provided they score marks above a prescribed minimum.

What are these recruits to the various Services like? Among the 12 recruits to the Indian Foreign Service, there are three sons of higher civil servants, one of a lower civil servant, one of a small-town merchant, two of school-teachers, one of a poor farmer or farm worker and four of town labourers or artisans. The last five belong clearly to lowly origins, but the two sons of school-teachers, one of the small-town merchant and another of the lower civil servant, belonging to the lower middle class, have been helped to some extent by their fathers' partial ascent up the social ladder while the three sons of higher civil servants already belong to the upper middle class.⁴ Their educational background is generally just average; none secured a first class, but seven got second classes and five third classes in their first degree and one secured a first class in his second degree. Only two of the 12 had been to the better colleges. Their performance in the examination is poorer than that of most successful candidates; ten of them got below 45 per cent of the marks in the written papers but two got between 50 and 60 per cent. Four obtained between 30 and 40 per cent of the marks at the interview, another four between 40 and 50 per cent and the remaining four just over 50 per cent. In the final ranking, two scored ranks between 26 and 50 and the other ten were selected from the special list. However, only six used the age-concessions extended to them. To sum up, the Sc. Caste and Sc. Tribe recruits to the Foreign Service are clearly inferior in education and examination performance to the other recruits to the Foreign Service but come from a socially higher stratum than their counterparts in the other Services.

The majority of the 22 post-1956 recruits to the I.A.S. belong to a lower social stratum.⁵ There are three sons of lower civil servants, three sons of merchants and private employees, three sons of school-teachers, ten of farmers—eight of whom would be small-scale land-owners and the other two, tenants—and three of labourers and artisans. Broadly, the first nine would belong to the lower middle class, the ten farmers to the poorer agricultural middle class and the last three to the working class. None has been to a public or convent school and only six to the better colleges. None got a first class in the first degree, 11 got second classes and another 11 third classes. As for the written examination, 11 got between 40 and 45 per cent marks, seven between 45 and 50 per cent and four between 50 and 55 per cent. In the interview, seven scored below 30 per cent—two between 30 and 40 per cent, ten between 40 and 50 per cent and three above 50 per cent. Two come within the general list—one within the second

25 ranks and the other within the fifth 25. The rest are drawn from the special list with 18 of them using the age-concessions extended to them. To sum up, less than half the Sc. Caste and Sc. Tribe recruits to the I.A.S. comes from the lower middle class and more than half from the poorer agricultural and working class; and they are all, educationally and in examination performance, poorer than the average recruit to the I.A.S.

The recruits to the Indian Police Service from the Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes form another category altogether. Even before 1956—nine were recruited under the earlier system of Statewise recruitment. Five of them were sons of farmers and four of workers; none of them went to a public or convent school nor to the better colleges except one. There are no first classes but five seconds and four thirds among them. Three were born in Punjab, two in U.P., one in Bengal and one in Bihar and all of them stayed on in their State but one born in Pakistan moved on to Delhi and another born in Kerala moved on to Madras. At the written examination, eight scored between 40 and 50 per cent marks, one between 55 and 60 per cent and, at the interview, four scored between 35 and 50 per cent and five over 50 per cent. On the whole, while their social origins and their education are lower than that of other recruits, they fared reasonably well, both in the written examination and interview and were recruited—to their credit—from the general list.

The 40 recruits of the second period, mostly from the special list, are somewhat different. Fourteen are the sons of small farmers or tenants, nine sons of workers or artisans, eight of small merchants, four of lower civil servants, one of a lawyer, one of a school-teacher, and three of higher civil servants. Thus, 23 belong to the poorer agricultural or artisan class, 14 to the lower middle class while three may be said to belong to the upper middle class. None of them has been to a public or convent school and only four to the better colleges. Two got first classes in their first degree, 16 got second classes and 22 got third classes but 18 have taken a second degree. There is more movement in this period—and apart from the eight displaced persons, half the rest (16) have moved out of their State of birth well before the examination. In the written examination their performance is middling: 14 scored between 40 and 45 per cent, 17 between 45 and 50 per cent, eight between 25 and 35 per cent, seven between 35 and 45 per cent, eight between 45 and 50 per cent and only five over 50 per cent. In regard to ranks, 31 are included in the special list—but of the nine others who got in on their own merit, three got within the second 25, one within the third 25, two within the fourth 25. Summing up the Sc. Caste and Sc. Tribe recruits of this period belong mostly

to the lower middle and poorer agricultural classes; educationally, they are poorer than the other recruits but they have done rather well in the written papers compared to their counterparts in other Services, perhaps because of the smaller number (2) of optional papers.

The 26 Sc. Caste and Sc. Tribe recruits to the Accounts Services (including two from the pre-1956 period) have had less social advantages than recruits to the I.A.S., I.F.S. and I.P.S. A rather high proportion, *i.e.* 20 of them, have used the age concessions offered and competed at ages between 25 and 30. The majority also come from the poor farming (tenant) class (9) and town worker or artisan class (8), while the rest can be broadly classed as lower middle—with two sons of lower civil servants, five of small-town merchants, one of a school-teacher and one of a native physician. None of them has been to a public or a convent school, only four have secured first classes in their second degree and only two of them had been to the better colleges. All but six of them were employed before entering the Service, mostly (13) in the lower echelons of various State and Central Government Departments. Their performance in the examination is much poorer than that of other recruits; the majority (22) got marks below 50 per cent in the written papers, including ten getting below 45 per cent and two below 40 per cent. In the interview too, the majority (16) got below 30 per cent, with three getting about 35 per cent, five between 45–50 per cent and two above 50 per cent. The majority (18) are drawn from the special list—while eight (to their credit) got in on their own merit in the general list.

The 14 recruits to the Postal and Customs Services are quite similar to the recruits to the Accounts Services. There are three sons of poor farmers and one of an artisan and six sons of lower civil servants, one of a teacher, one of a pleader, one of a merchant and one of an accountant. Educationally, they are even poorer than the recruits to the Accounts Services; none had been to a public or convent school, none secured a first class in his university degree (there are five second classes and nine third classes) and only one attended a better college. Nine of them were employed, seven in the lower echelons of the State or Central Services. Their performance in the examination is poorer than that of their counterparts in the Accounts Services; 12 of the 14 used age concessions and competed after their 25th year; all of them got marks below 50 per cent in the written papers including three getting below 40 per cent; six of them got below 30 per cent in the interview, two just about 35 per cent, another four between 35 and 50 per cent and only one above 50 per cent—and all but one of them were taken from the special list.

Let us see what is involved in implementing Article 16(4) of the Indian Constitution—on the lines of the Home Ministry's regulations about the recruitment of candidates from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. To put the figures of recruitment after the *active* operation of the regulations from 1956 onwards into perspective, let us take note of the figures for the period before 1956. The total recruitment to the I.A.S. and I.F.S. was negligible (2), that of the I.P.S. just over half a dozen and that for the Central Services just about 14, with no recruitment of Scheduled Caste candidates at all in some years. It is clear that only an extremely small number of Sc. Caste and Sc. Tribe candidates were getting in and they were very much under-represented in terms of their population. From the examination of 1956 onwards, a large number were recruited from the special list, i.e. *solely* from the Sc. Caste and Sc. Tribe candidates who were called for interview—in the relative order of their merit so as to fill posts not exceeding $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total number of vacant posts ($12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for Scheduled Castes and 5 per cent for Scheduled Tribes). Let us look into the performance of these recruits *vis a vis* that of the other candidates—with the help of Table 39—in the light of the proviso about the maintenance of the 'efficiency of administration'.

It will not occasion great surprise that these candidates are selected by ignoring a good many more meritorious candidates who do not belong to the Sc. Castes or Sc. Tribes. The problem is one of setting some limits to this, consistent with the declared objective of maintaining administrative efficiency and the undeclared objective of carrying conviction with the rest of the nation regarding the success of the policy. Looked at in this light, the top Sc. Caste or Sc. Tribe candidate in the special list has little to be apologetic about. He gets no less than 60 per cent of the marks. In recent years (1956-63), he 'jumped over' about 30 candidates in the I.A.S. It must, however, be noted that, with an additional ten marks or increased intake for that year, he could have got in even otherwise. There may, of course, be room for concern about those further down the list, since the last one among the Sc. Caste or Sc. Tribe candidates seems to jump over (on an average) about 173 more meritorious candidates for the Indian Administrative Service, about 249 for the Police Service and about 356 for the Central Services. He gets just over 50 per cent of the marks in the I.A.S. but reaches down to 45 per cent in the Central Services. There seems to be need for a careful examination of the recruitment of candidates who get less than 50 per cent of the total marks or who jump over more than 150 more meritorious candidates—particularly because there seems to be some disillusionment about this policy of special concessions among the general run of officers,

young and old, as shown in the next chapter. More intensive help in preparing for the examination than already provided by the Union Government in the Bangalore and Allahabad establishments,⁶ combined with progressively stricter limits in the use of concessions may, in due course, produce recruits less dependent on, and less conscious of, such favours. The ultimate aim should be to bring closer the day when all the candidates now recruited from the special list and more, can be recruited on their own merit from one open general list. In the meanwhile, let us salute the few sturdy ones who get into the general list each year—some without even using the age-concessions—and thus prove that it can be done.

THE WOMEN RECRUITS

Article 16(1) of the Constitution of India guarantees equality of opportunity to all citizens in regard to employment under the State and Clause (2) of the same Article goes on to specify that :—

No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of any employment or office under the State.

This clause has been judicially interpreted to mean that women candidates offering themselves for the various Services or posts in the Union or State Governments of India should not be discriminated against on the ground of sex *only*, but can be discriminated if some additional ground considered reasonable by the Courts is adduced.⁷ In practice, women candidates compete for all the Services but have not so far been recruited to the Police Service. The rules and regulations governing the various Services prescribe that.⁸—

No married woman shall be entitled as of right to be appointed to the Service, and where a woman appointed to the Service subsequently marries, the Central Government may, if the maintenance of the efficiency of the Service so requires, call upon her to resign.

In practice, no successful married woman candidate has been refused appointment and no woman officer who has sought permission to marry has been denied it or asked to resign. A few have resigned on or after marriage of their own will, but several women officers continue in service after marrying—usually, a colleague in the same Service.

The intake of women recruits has been increasing, mainly during the last few years. They would now constitute about 5 per cent of the total of post-independence recruits to the various higher civil Services. This is, perhaps, one of the highest proportions of women

officers in the higher civil services in any country (excluding communist regimes) and puzzles some Western observers with their outdated image of suppressed Indian womanhood. The key to the puzzle lies in the very nature of the middle class in India, whose women have comparatively greater opportunities for higher education and political and administrative leadership than women in more advanced countries. As the subsequent analysis shows, the women recruits to the various Services are generally drawn from a higher social stratum than the men recruits and have had a more Western education.

The eight women recruits to the Indian Foreign Service (excluding three women who resigned after marriage) are all drawn from the upper middle class. Three are the daughters of higher civil servants, two of Army officers, two of prosperous businessmen and one of a Professor. Seven of them were educated in convent schools and one of them studied in a foreign university. Two have first classes in their first degree and five of them have taken a second degree. They have all taken their degrees in the Arts or Humanities. Two have graduated in English Literature, two in Politics and one in Economics; and the two who took Science degrees first changed over to English Literature for their Master's degree. They have done nearly as well as the men in their written papers—with seven of them getting between 50 and 65 per cent. They have done better at the interview, with all but one of them scoring over 50 per cent and five scoring over 60 per cent. Four come within the first 25 ranks, three within the second 25 and one young lady from Sikkim was recruited on the special list.

Of the eleven women recruits in the Indian Administrative Service sample, three are daughters of higher civil servants, two of businessmen, three of lawyers, one of a chartered accountant and two of lower civil servants. Of these, all but the last two can be classed as upper middle class. Six were educated in convent schools and another privately educated, making up seven with Westernised schooling. Four secured first classes in their first degree and another four in the second, constituting a majority of first classes. Six went to the better colleges and all but two studied Humanities and Arts at the university—including four who read English Literature. In general, the women of the Administrative Service are only slightly different from their counterparts in the Foreign Service in their social origins and education.

The background of the 24 women recruits to the Accounts Services differs in degree from that of the recruits to the I.F.S. and I.A.S. Nine of them are daughters of higher civil servants, two of doctors and one of a chartered accountant, thus making up twelve from the upper middle class. Six of the others are daughters of lower civil servants, four of school-teachers and two of small-town businessmen

—making up twelve from the lower middle class. Twelve of them were educated in convent schools. Their university attainments are modest; six secured first classes in their first degree and two more in their second, but 16 took second degrees and 14 were educated in the better colleges.⁹ Sixteen of them (a higher proportion than for men recruits) were employed before entering the Services, six as university lecturers, three as school-teachers and seven as lower civil servants. Broadly, most of those who do not come from the upper middle class and have not been to convent schools have had the advantage of some teaching experience before entering the Service. Their performance at the written examination matches that of men recruits, with the majority of 21 getting between 50 and 65 per cent. Their interview performance is better, with six of them getting over 50 per cent—and ten between 40 and 50 per cent. The relationship, between their marks in the written papers and the interview is somewhat different from that of men recruits, but their distribution at the various rank levels is nearly the same as for men. Four of them got within the first 25 ranks, two within the third 25, eight within the fourth 25 and the rest get ranks over 100.

The twelve recruits to the Customs and Postal Services come mainly from a less elevated social background and include three Scheduled Caste recruits. Two are daughters of lower civil servants, three of businessmen and business employees, one of a chartered accountant, one of a school-teacher, one of a lawyer and four of farmers. Of these twelve, three perhaps may be classed as upper middle class and the rest as lower middle class. None of them has been to a convent school. Four of them have secured first classes in their first degree, and six have second classes, and only three have been to the better colleges. However, seven were employed, five as university lecturers, one as a research-scholar and one as a school-teacher. Their examination performance is not very different from that of men recruits in the same Services; five secured between 50 and 65 per cent in the written papers, the rest securing below 50 per cent; six secured between 35 and 45 per cent at the interview, two between 55 and 60 per cent and the rest below 35, but all of them got ranks below 125.

In general, the women recruits come more from the upper middle class and have been educated more in Western ways in convent schools. The majority of recruits to the I.F.S. and I.A.S. would justify this description and so would more than half the recruits to the Accounts Services. The girls from the lower middle class, who have not been to convent schools, mostly belong to the less coveted Central Services. As a whole, women candidates have a slightly higher success co-efficient than men. This may be partly due to the small

number of women candidates appearing and to their being socially and educationally a more select group—belonging to the more well-to-do, education-conscious and career-conscious middle class families. They seem to be more father-oriented than the men are mother-oriented—and somewhat less aware of Indian culture and history.¹⁰ All this sets them apart from most men recruits at the training stage, but there is little evidence to show that they are any different from men once they have settled down in their Services.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. The term Scheduled Castes covers several groups of backward Hindus who were considered to be outside the pale of the caste system and were otherwise known as "Untouchables". Though several Hindu social reformers had taken up their cause earlier, spectacular progress was made mainly after Mahatma Gandhi started his grand crusade and committed India's premier political body, the Congress, to their upliftment.

The Constitution of India, in addition to enjoining equality and banishing discrimination based on religion and caste in Articles 15 and 16, makes room for positive measures of uplift in the same two Articles and specifically bans the practice of untouchability in Article 17. Later, in Part XVI devoted entirely to Sc. Castes (and Sc. Tribes), it enables seats to be reserved for them in Legislative bodies and includes a special provision in Article 335 to allow posts to be reserved for them in the various Services of the Union or a State. Article 338 enjoins the appointment of a special officer to investigate the working of constitutional safeguards concerning Sc. Castes (and Sc. Tribes). Articles 339 and 340 empower the President to appoint commissions to report on them and Article 341, to specify Sc. Castes and Sc. Tribes for the application of the relevant constitutional provisions—in consultation with the Governors of States concerned—while Parliament is simultaneously empowered to add to or delete from this list. The Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950, made a fairly comprehensive list of over 300 Scheduled Castes and another similar order of the same year listed the Scheduled Tribes. While the initiative in this regard clearly rests with the President and Parliament, the courts seem to have a vague jurisdiction to enquire into the appropriateness of any included item.

The (Scheduled) Tribes were not subject to social oppression in the same way in which the Scheduled Castes were, but the constitutional and social objective of the Republic of India is to provide all opportunity for them to progressively educate themselves and play their part in nation-building. The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, lists over a hundred Tribes to whom the special provisions are extended in regard to education and recruitment to the various Services of the States and the Union.

2. The steps were elaborated in a Home Ministry resolution of 13-9-1950, No. 42/21/49-NGS. They were spelt out in the Ministry of Home Affairs notification No. 20/36/54-A.I.S. (1) dated 12th February, 1955, which is quoted in the text.

They were further spelt out and included in Rule 7(3) of The Indian Administrative Service (Recruitment) Rules, 1954, and Rule 7(4) of the Indian Police Service (Recruitment) Rules, 1954, both of which clearly mention the reservation of 12½ per cent of the vacant posts in Services for Scheduled Castes and 5 per cent for the Scheduled Tribes.

3. No special list is published as such by the Union Public Service Commission, but their office-copy of the results clearly indicates where the regular rank list ends and the list of Sc. Caste and Sc. Tribe candidates recommended for appointment begins. The number appointed may be less than the number in the special list, as several candidates are included in the special lists of more than one Service.

All the vacancies allotted each year to the Sc. Caste and Sc. Tribe candidates are not filled owing to lack of a suitable number of qualified candidates. The Supreme Court of India has ruled (*B. N. Tewari vs. Union of India*, AIR 1965, SC 1430) that the unfilled vacancies cannot be carried over for longer than two years.

4. The few Scheduled Caste candidates who get in, on their own merit, into the general list usually come from a lower middle class background, with the father having already smoothed a part of the way for the son.

5. The twenty-two are part of the sample of 392 for the two periods and constitute 9.4 per cent of the post-1956 recruits.

6. The (Union) Government of India has arranged for the special coaching of Sc. Caste and Sc. Tribe candidates at two pre-examination coaching centres in Allahabad (established in 1959) and Bangalore (established in 1962). For details regarding these, see *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*, 1963-64, para 20.9 and Appendix XXV.

7. For a non-legal summary of this interpretation, see V. P. Luthera, *The Concept of the Secular State in India*, Oxford University Press, 1964, pp. 67-70.

8. Rule 5(3), Indian Administrative Service (Recruitment) Rules, 1954. Since 1964, the Union Government has ruled that no permission is required for a woman-officer to marry, but that it reserves the right to call upon her to resign if the maintenance of the efficiency of the Service so requires.

9. The term "better college" is somewhat misleading in regard to lady recruits, as the dozen colleges so identified for general purposes are essentially male-dominated, though all but two are co-educational. A separate list of better colleges for ladies was found difficult to make.

Even with the restricted list of co-educational colleges used, the lady recruits make a good showing—and with a suitably expanded list to include the leading women's colleges, they would make a better showing than the men recruits.

10. This observation is based on interviews with a random sample of twenty recruits, both new and old. Not a single lady recruit failed to mention her father as the foremost influence in her life, compared to only two men who did so.

7. RECRUITS AND RECRUITS : SOME COMPARISONS

In the foregoing chapters, we have in the main, analysed the social, economic and educational background of the members of the All-India and Central Services, recruited directly through the competitive examinations from 1947 to 1963. In this chapter, we shall make some brief comparisons of these examination recruits with those who have entered by other avenues. Secondly, we shall highlight the changes in the social background of the former during our period of study by contrasting the background of the recruits of 1947 and those of 1963. Thirdly, we shall compare the attitudes to some social and political questions of the young recruits of 1963, during their period of training in 1964, with the attitudes of a small random sample of officers who have put in five years or more of service.

Non-examination Recruits

We have referred in Chapter II to the fact that over 50 per cent of the members of the Indian Administrative Service, as at January 1964, were drawn from six sources other than the annual competitive examination for young graduates. More specifically, they consist of (a) those recruited in 1947 from among the holders of temporary commissions in the Indian Army, numbering 89, (b) those taken in through the emergency or open-market recruitment in 1948 and 1956 from among mature men in other occupations, numbering 184, (c) those promoted from the State Civil Services against a quota, numbering 379, and those selected therefrom in the process of open-market recruitment, numbering 192, and (d) the few (172) members of the old Indian Civil Service. An earlier study has suggested that these non-examination recruits (excluding the members of the old ICS and the 1947 war-service recruits), are drawn from a wider social background than the examination recruits.¹ Of these, the group (c), recruited from the various State Services has the widest social base; the selectees include a good proportion of the sons of farmers (17.7 per cent) while the promotees are drawn from an even wider base and include a higher proportion of farmers' sons (21.7 per cent) and a substantial proportion from the poorer sections of the work-force (19.9 per cent). The emergency recruits of 1948 and

1956 too include sons of farmers to the tune of 14.9 per cent and a good proportion from the poorer sections of the community (11.4 per cent). On the other hand, the war-service recruits of 1947 and the members of the I.C.S. are drawn from a narrower social base than the examination recruits themselves. These differences notwithstanding, all types of recruits include a good proportion ranging from 44 to 54 per cent of the sons of civil servants and a substantial percentage from the learned professions. The representation of the salaried and professional middle classes does not fall below 68 per cent even in the case of the promotees from the State Services who, of all types of recruits, are drawn from the widest social base.

As for other differences between the examination and non-examination recruits, the non-Hindu minorities get a higher representation among the promotees (27.6 per cent) and selectees (22.3 per cent) from the State services and the latter, in general, seem to have a slightly larger proportion of those with some sort of a rural background.² In regard to their educational qualifications, the promotees and the selectees from the State Civil Services score rather low, with only 23 per cent and 41.6 per cent, respectively, of first-class graduates—compared to the 61.7 per cent of first class graduates among the emergency recruits, 69.9 per cent among I.C.S. officers and 56.6 per cent among the examination recruits. However, the share of first classes of the war-service recruits is nearly as low as that of the selectees from the State Services. The promotees and selectees from the State Services seem also to have a lower proportion of those who hold a Master's degree (67 and 79.1 per cent, respectively) compared to the high proportion (94.9 per cent) for the examination recruits and the emergency recruits (81.1 per cent)³. However, their share is higher than that of the war-service recruits (60.6 per cent) who, evidently, had no time for a Master's degree before taking a commission and that of the Indian Civil Service (62.2 per cent) whose members would evidently concentrate on reading for the stiff competitive examination rather than pursue a Master's degree.

Even though the various groups of non-examination recruits to the I.A.S. differ each from the other and also from the examination recruits, when mixed up with one another as they are—under actual service conditions, these differences seem to even out. This is partly illustrated by the remarkable resemblance between a random sample of older officers drawn from all sources and the fresh examination recruits of 1963 in most of their socio-economic characteristics.⁴ The differences between the two are differences in degree and, as we shall see later in this chapter, there is an equally remarkable similarity in

their attitudes to social and political questions—barring some differences in degree.

We have already noticed (in Chapter V) the important differences between the examination recruits and promotees in the Indian Audit and Accounts and the Customs Services. In the case of the first (constituting one fifth of the I.A. & A.S.), a higher proportion is drawn from the lower middle class than in the case of examinations recruits but their educational achievements are of the same standard. Thus, 32.4 per cent of the promotees are the sons of lower civil servants and 13.5 per cent the sons of school-teachers, together making up 45.9 per cent drawn from a distinctly lower middle class background as against 32.5 per cent drawn from these sources among the examination recruits. In addition to this, another 20 per cent of the promotees were drawn from the poorer farmer and artisan classes. But they have the same proportion of first class graduates among themselves (55 per cent) as the examination recruits (54.3 per cent).⁵ Nearly half of them lost their fathers before completing their education and this seems to have affected their career very much. All the foregoing observations more or less apply to the promotees of the Customs Service too.

It is clear from the above account that it is difficult to generalize about the non-examination recruits except in one broad respect. On the whole, they are drawn from a wider social background, but differ among themselves according to their source of recruitment in all other important respects such as academic achievement, the nature of schools attended or inter-State affiliations.

The Examination Recruits—the Latest and the Earliest

The contrast between the examination recruits of the first (1947) and last year (1963) of our period of study brings out in bolder relief the changes during these years than the comparisons made in the earlier chapters between pre-1956 and post-1956 recruits. In the case of all the Services except the Foreign Service,⁶ there is a widening of the social and educational background of the recruits, together with a fall in the standards of academic achievement. In the case of the Indian Administrative Service, five of the sixteen recruits (31.3 per cent) of 1947 are sons of higher civil servants and two of lawyers, accounting for nearly half (43.8 per cent) of the recruits with a distinctly upper middle class origin. In 1963, however, the proportion of the sons of higher civil servants has fallen to ten out of forty-three (23.26 per cent), though the proportion of the sons of lawyers, doctors and other professionals has not. Along with the broadening of the social base, there is found a more representative distribution of

the speakers of various Indian languages⁷. The proportion of those who went to public or convent schools has fallen from 25 per cent to 18.6 per cent and so has the proportion of those who went to the better colleges from 56.3 per cent to about 48.8 per cent and the proportion of those who went to the six major universities, from 87.5 per cent to 72.1 per cent. At the same time, the proportion of first-class graduates (in regard to the first degree) has also fallen from 68.8 per cent to 25.6 per cent while the proportion of those with some participation in scouting or N.C.C. activities has risen from 6.3 per cent to 27.9 per cent.

The story is nearly the same for the Indian Police Service. There is a similar broadening of the social base, a more representative distribution of recruits speaking various languages and a fall in the standards of academic achievement. The proportion of those drawn from the homes of higher civil servants and the professionals has decreased from 36.4 per cent to 25.4 per cent, and the sons of the distinctly lower middle class groups, namely, those of lower civil servants and school-teachers, have increased their representation from 18.2 to 29.8 per cent. As for distribution by mother-tongue, the co-efficients of representation for all languages have evened out considerably⁸. The proportion of first-class graduates has decreased from 36.9 to 16.4 per cent, while the proportion of those with some participation in scouting and the N.C.C. remains about the same (50 and 49.3 per cent, respectively).

In the case of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service too, there is a clear broadening of the social base, evening out of linguistic representation⁹ and a fall in academic achievement. More than half (53.3 per cent) are the sons of higher civil servants and professionals in 1947, but only 20.6 per cent are so in 1963. The proportion of those who went to convent or public schools has fallen from 20 to 5.9 per cent, the percentage of those who went to the better colleges has fallen too from 53.3 to 32.3 and the percentage of those who went to the six major universities has also fallen from 86.7 to 73.5 per cent. Along with this, the percentage of first classes (in regard to the first degree) has fallen from 46.7 to 32.4 and so has the percentage of those participating in scouting or N.C.C. activities from 46.7 to about 29.4.

To sum up, significant changes have taken place in the social and educational background of examination recruits of all the Services except the I.F.S. These include a clear decrease in the proportion of recruits from the homes of higher civil servants and professionals and of those who have been to public or convent schools or to the better colleges, and a more representative distribution of the speakers.

of various languages. Such changes in the direction of more equal representation of social classes, languages and educational institutions, are also accompanied by a drop in the percentage of first class graduates. We shall suggest an explanation of these changes in the next chapter in which we also attempt to draw some general conclusions.

Unchanging Attitudes

It is interesting to compare the attitudes to some general social questions of the 98 young I.A.S. recruits of 1963 with a random sample of 46 older officers in the same Service who include a substantial sprinkling of non-examination recruits. We have noticed that the sample of the older officers differs from the fresh recruits only in degree in regard to social and educational background. Their attitudes to social questions too are fairly similar to those of the fresh recruits and the few significant differences seem to be explained by differences in age and experience. Thus, both derive their knowledge of the world very much from the English Press. Over 60 per cent (60.37) among the old and 58.2 per cent among the new read only English daily newspapers while the rest add to this an Indian language daily. As for magazines, 58.1 per cent of old officers read only English magazines as against 32.7 per cent among the new. In their taste for books again, the same low percentage (32.6 per cent among the old and 36.7 among the new) are interested in academic subjects and the percentages of those (17.4 among the old and 12.2 among the new) interested in detective novels is fairly close.

In regard to their motives for entering the Service, the differences are substantial, but, still not basically significant. More than 67 per cent among the new, but only 44 per cent among the old, give the triple reasons of security, pension and prestige, but over 32 per cent of the old recruits mention other reasons close to them¹⁰. This seems to be somewhat different from what one would expect, but is explained by the fact that the older officers have had time to grow sour. The significant difference lies rather in the high proportion (23.5 per cent) among the young who specify idealistic reasons for entering the Service, such as building up a socialistic economy, compared to the low 4.4 per cent among the old who specify such reasons¹¹. There is, however, substantial similarity in their attitudes to the offer of a new job; 56.5 per cent among the old and 51.2 per cent among the new would consider it seriously and half of them without conditions. On the other hand, there is a substantial difference between the two groups in their attitude to power, as is to be expected between those who have used it for some time and those who have not tasted it. The largest single group among the new recruits (46.9 per cent) feel that the civil

service has too little power, whereas 54.4 per cent of the older officers feel that their powers are just adequate. On questions concerning politics and administration, their attitudes are pretty similar. In regard to the constitutional provision extending special concessions to the socially and educationally backward Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in recruitment to the public services, nearly the same percentage (36.96 among the old and 33.67 among the new) want to abolish it, while most of the rest would keep it (somewhat unenthusiastically) without any further extension, while a small 8.1 per cent of the old and 13.3 per cent of the young wanted to extend it. In regard to the claims of the legislators for a final say in punishing contempt of legislature—without reference to courts, 21.7 per cent among the old and 38.8 per cent among the new would support it. On Panchayati Raj (village self-government), nearly the same percentage (50 among the old and 51.2 among the young) were sceptical about extending it, but 30.6 per cent of the new recruits were hopeful enough to ask for more powers. A high percentage of both young and old (94 and 84 respectively) are against Zila Parishads or District Councils having power over District Officers.¹²

On economic and social questions, their responses are fairly similar; 82.2 per cent among the old feel that the middle class is taxed too much, compared to the 62.2 per cent among the young; the difference is partly explained by the non-exposure of the young recruits as yet to taxation. As for taxes on the rich, 54.4 per cent of the old and 68.4 per cent among the young feel that the rich are taxed enough; but practically all respondents qualified this by referring to the high incidence of tax evasion. Only 15.2 per cent among the old and 21.4 per cent among the young think that the rich should be taxed more. On social questions, 78.4 per cent among the old and 71.4 per cent among the young express doubts about the efficacy of financial inducements for inter-caste marriages. On the effects of Hindu Law reform, only 17.4 per cent among the old feel that the effects are good compared to more than twice this percentage (43.9) among the young, a difference explained by the idealism of the young, and the conservatism of the old and their greater experience of life. On desirable social changes again, there is a significant difference in attitudes; the largest single group among the old (43.5 per cent) doubt the efficacy of law as an instrument of social change, as against 7.1 per cent among the young who do so. Again, 27.5 per cent of the young recruits want sharp economic changes including wider educational opportunities as against practically none among the old desiring this type of change. On the abolition of chaprasis, however, there is close agreement; 52.2 per cent among the old and 42.2 per cent among

the young wanted progressive abolition, while only 8.1 per cent among the old and 7.1 per cent among the young favour immediate abolition.¹⁸

Questions concerning their daily work and general attitude to their subordinates were put only to the older officers and the responses revealed a high degree of conservatism, realism and cynicism; 52.1 per cent think that their office efficiency is below average; 30.5 per cent have definite suspicion of corruption in their officers, while 43.5 per cent have vague suspicions. In regard to office discipline and protocol, 50 per cent are conservative and 15.2 per cent are very conservative in their attitudes.¹⁴

A comparison of the 1963 recruits to the I.P.S. with a random sample of older I.P.S. officers (35), revealed the same pattern of differences and similarities between the young and the old, except that the older officers were (understandably) even more conservative in their attitude to discipline and protocol than the I.A.S. officers were.¹⁵

The few differences between the young and the old in attitudes seen to be explained on the simple basis of age and experience of office, but the many similarities may be attributed in part to their common class origin and common self-interest. Thus, the young recruits as well as the older officers, more or less, reflect the general attitudes of the urban salaried and professional middle class, each of them modifying it to some extent by his own individual experience. Add to this the high percentage of the sons of civil servants (40-50) in all Services, and it is not surprising that many in-service attitudes continue from generation to generation. Secondly, though the civil service has expanded fast, its class composition has changed at a slower rate. Hence, there is every possibility of the perpetuation of established attitudes inside the civil service by the slow induction of the minority of recruits of non-middle-class origin into the ways of thought and action of the middle class recruits. These suggested reasons need to be tested by research on group-dynamics and socialization in these Services, but, as such, their import is fundamental in regard to the training of civil servants.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. R.K. Trivedi and D.N. Rao, "Higher Civil Service in India : A Sample Survey", *Journal of the National Academy of Administration* Mussoorie, Volume VI, 1961. The classification of occupations adopted by the authors is not as detailed as this writer would have liked. Their analyses, however, illustrate some important distinctions in the social background of examination and non-examination recruits. Their table is given below.

Father's Occupation

Cadre	Total	Advocate No. %	Agriculture No. %	Business No. %	Doctor No. %	Government Service No. %	Teacher No. %	Others No. %
I.C.S.	156	32 20.5	12 7.7	7 4.5	4 2.6	80 51.2	10 6.4	11 7.1
I.A.S.	615	65 10.6	49 8.0	61 9.9	30 4.9	274 44.5	88 14.3	48 7.8
(D.R.)								
I.A.S.	66	11 16.7	—	7 10.6	4 6.1	36 54.5	5 7.6	3 4.5
(W.S.)								
I.A.S.	141	15 10.6	21 14.9	13 9.2	2 1.4	67 47.5	7 5.0	16 11.4
(E.S.)								
I.A.S.	203	13 6.4	44 21.7	17 8.4	5 2.4	87 42.8	17 8.4	20 9.9
(P.P.)								
I.A.S.	166	21 12.7	29 17.4	13 7.8	2 1.2	73 44.0	7 4.2	21 12.7
(P.E.)								

D. R. Direct Recruits; W. S. War Service recruits; E. S. Emergency recruits of 1948 and 1956; P. P. Promoted Officers of the State Civil Services; P. E. State Civil Service Officers selected in the Emergency recruitments of 1948 and 1956.

2. R. K. Trivedi and D. N. Rao, *op. cit.* The criteria employed for determining rural or urban background are less detailed and precise than those employed by this writer in Chapter II.

3. R. K. Trivedi and D. N. Rao, *op. cit.* The proportion of those holding a Master's degree among the examination recruits, according to these authors, is much higher than found by this writer. The difference is partly accounted for by the fact that the source material employed by these authors was the descriptive roll filled by recruits before they begin their training. By this time a number of them who might not have received their Master's degree when applying for the examination might have completed the requirements of the degree.

4. The random sample of 46 I.A.S. officers has broadly the same pattern of distribution into various categories in regard to such important characteristics as father's occupation, regional distribution and university education. Without indulging in a number of detailed tables, the following figures illustrate the similarity. Thus the percentage of the sons of gazetted officers among the new recruits of 1963 is 28.3 and is 26.5 for the older recruits. Similarly, the percentage of the sons of lower civil servants is 15.2 for the new and 12.2 for the old. As for regional distribution according to the State of birth, practically all the States have about the same percentage in both groups except Madras and Bengal. As for universities, the proportion of the alumni of the more important universities is again very close except for Madras and Calcutta Universities. The former has higher representation and latter lower representation among the new recruits compared to the old, which is not quite unexpected.

5. See footnote 9 of Chapter V regarding the implications of this.

6. In the case of the Foreign Service there is actually a change in favour of the higher occupational groups in the second period. The significance of this should not be over-rated as the numbers recruited are small anyway.

7. The better-represented languages of 1947, namely, Bengali and Tamil, have lost their primacy, while Hindi has gained. Thus the percentage of Bengali-speakers has come down from 31.3 to 13.95, that of Tamil from 25 to 11.6 while that of Hindi has increased from 18.8 to 25.6.

8. As in the case of the I.A.S. the over-represented language groups have lost somewhat. Tamil has fallen from 18.18 to 2.99 per cent, while Hindi has held its own at about 41 per cent, but Bengali has increased its representation from 4.55 to 8.95 per cent

9. In this case, there is a new imbalance introduced partly as a result of the South Indians' and Bengalis' flocking to this Service. Thus, the representation of Tamil-speakers has increased from 13.33 to 26.47, of Bengalis from zero to 26.47, while Hindi-speakers have actually come down from 53.33 to 14.71.

10. The other reasons mentioned by the older recruits include family pressure, family tradition and lack, as well as ignorance, of any other avenue in those days.

11. To put this reply in perspective, one must add that the older recruits had no opportunity to consider idealistic reasons when most of them were recruited before 1953 when terms such as 'socialistic pattern' had not come into vogue.

12. To put this reply in perspective again, Zila Parishads actually operated at the time of questioning only in Maharashtra and the few Maharashtra officers in the sample were not very much against them.

13. For the benefit of non-Indian readers, a chaprasi is something like a messenger, only much older. He usually spends most of his time in office corridors, sitting near the entrance to the officer's room. The phenomenon of chaprasi has been the butt of ridicule at the hands of many foreign observers.

14. The following three questions were asked in regard to office discipline and protocol. Those who answered all the three in a negative way were considered very conservative, and the others rated as liberal or very liberal according to a scale.

- (a) Would you like to put an end to the custom of your subordinates standing up when you call on them ?
- (b) Would you like them omitting the use of 'Sir' in addressing you ?
- (c) Would you not like to 'punish' in some way an officer who does not use proper channels when he wants to see the top person in your department ?

15. In the case of the officers of the Police Service, practically all of them explained that theirs is a *uniformed* service and naturally a higher level of discipline is expected therein.

8. A MIDDLE CLASS MONOPOLY ; SO WHAT ?

We must now tie up the various threads of this enquiry and answer some general questions. The most important of these is whether the recruits to the various Services have any common characteristics that set them apart from the rest of the community and which overshadow the differences between recruits to the different services and from different sources.

The Urban Middle Class

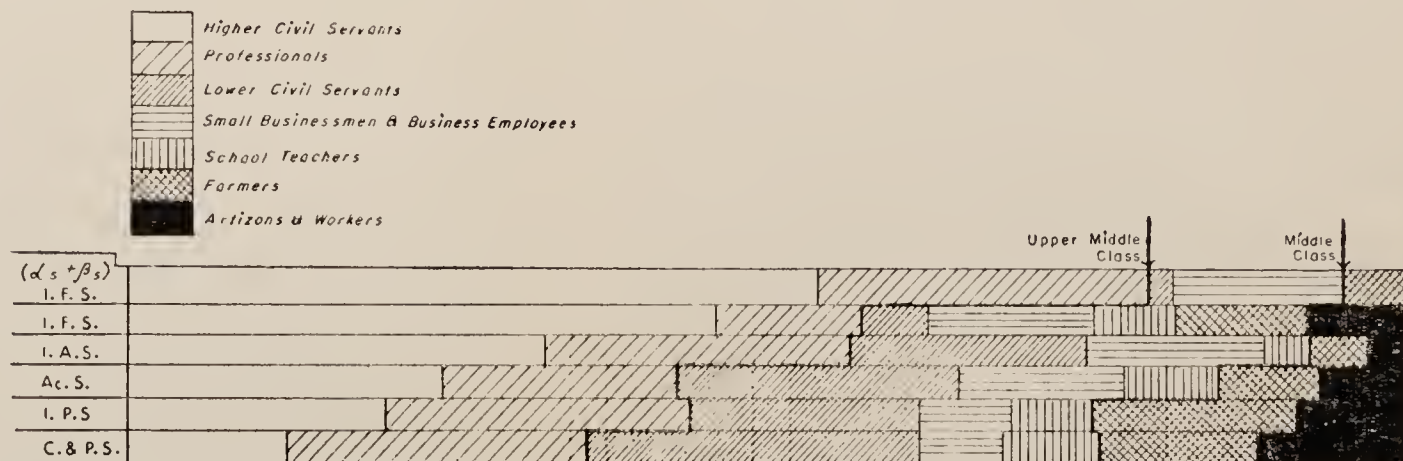
It is clear that all these Services are drawn in common from the urban salaried and professional middle class of India to the tune of 80 per cent and over. Their differences relate only to the respective share of the various sub-classes of this middle class. Thus, businessmen and business employees are less well-represented than civil servants and professionals. There are practically no sons of big businessmen and only a few sons of the business executives of large firms. Those who are drawn from a commercial background are mostly the sons of small-town merchants or the employees of small business houses. Outside the middle class, the farmers and agricultural labourers forming the bulk of the work force are grossly under-represented in all the Services even more than the artisans and the industrial workers.

This general statement about the under-representation of the agricultural classes needs to be qualified. The big and the medium land-owners are reasonably represented in the Police Service, partly because they have a continuing interest in the Service as a result of the encouragement given to them to join it by British rulers over the years. They are not badly represented in the Foreign Service either. The sons of small farmers and agricultural labourers, not very much in evidence in the first period, get some representation during the second period of our study. This is partly due to the recruitment, during this period of candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who are drawn substantially from this class. The representation of the agricultural classes is still poor. Against this, we must set the fact that a number of recruits from the urban middle class homes are not without some rural affiliations. We have noticed in Chapter II that practically all the I.A.S. recruits of 1963 satisfied at least one of the five criteria of rural affiliation—such as visiting relatives in the village or owning some land managed by others. Moreover, when the analysis is carried a generation further, we also

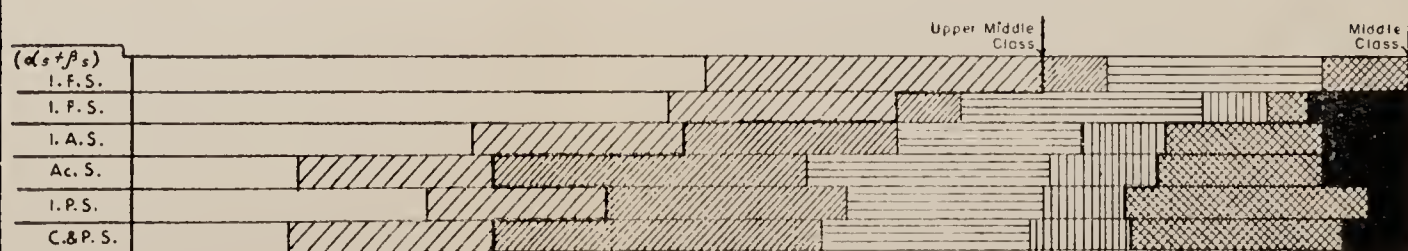


COMPARATIVE CLASS COMPOSITION OF SERVICES

FATHER'S OCCUPATION — COMPARATIVE DIAGRAM: 1947-56



FATHER'S OCCUPATION — COMPARATIVE DIAGRAM: 1957-63



In this diagram, the Services are arranged one below the other in their descending order of prestige as shown by the expressed preferences of the recruits, though this order is often a matter of personal opinion ultimately. I have placed at the top, the alphas and betas of the I.F.S. to single out those who got what they wanted in the first or second attempt—and below that, the total population of the direct recruits to the I.F.S. while the other Services are placed further below.

The upper middle classes in the diagram include the higher civil servants and professionals only—while the lower middle classes include lower civil servants, small businessmen, business employees and school-teachers, while farmers and artizans and workers are shown as outside the middle class. In the case of the I.F.S. and its alphas and betas, I have included the farmers in the middle class—because they are all invariably rich landowners with an urban base.

The diagram shows that (i) the proportion of the middle class decreases *slowly* from the more prestigious to the less prestigious Services but (ii) the proportion of the upper middle class decreases *more sharply* from the more to the less prestigious Services. The diagram also shows (iii) that the middle class as a whole has reduced its proportionate representation *rather slightly* from the first to the second period but (iv) the representation of the upper middle class is reduced *considerably more*.

These findings suggest that the immediate beneficiary of the present trends and of any future democratic reforms in the examination system, would be the *lower middle class* while the agricultural and working classes would benefit *more slowly*.

find a higher proportion of farmers among the paternal grand-fathers of the recruits. In these cases, the father usually leaves the village to become a small-town lawyer, school-teacher or civil servant, still keeping a few ties with his old village. These modifying factors notwithstanding, the dominant influence on the recruits would be that of the city or small town where the father had his job and the recruit his education. After all is said and done, the background of the majority of higher civil servants is that of the urban salaried and professional middle class.

Changing Social Composition

Within this broad picture of middle class dominance, the representation of its sub-classes follows a definite pattern as shown by Table 6 and the diagram opposite. Briefly, the share of the lower middle class groups seems to vary inversely with the prestige of the Service and directly with the intake. In other words, the lower middle class share of the less prestigious Services is higher than of the more prestigious ones in the same period and this share has increased for all the Services (except the I.F.S.) during the second period with its greater intake of recruits. We may, therefore, merge the lower Service prestige with the other factor of greater intake in as much as the less prestigious Services take in more recruits than the more prestigious ones every year. Can we then identify greater intake as the cause of the broadening social composition ?

The answer is probably quite complex. One obvious reason for the broadening social composition is the recruitment of a quota of candidates from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who are generally drawn from the homes of poor farmers, artisans, school-teachers or lower civil servants. But this would account only for a part of the changing social composition, the greater part of which is still related to the larger intake of recruits.

This need not, as such, lead to any change in the social composition of the Services unless accompanied by other conditions. If there are enough candidates from higher occupational groups with superior educational advantages, a larger intake produces no change till all such candidates are absorbed. It can work statistically in favour of candidates from lower occupational groups only (a) if they compete in proportionately large numbers each year and (b) if they distribution of basic advantages is not very different among candidates from either group. It is quite probable that both conditions obtain though we have no real evidence for this.¹ But once the process starts, the lower occupational group candidates would be naturally encouraged by the success of their compeers to compete in greater numbers. It is also likely that more and more of the better-endowed

candidates from higher occupational groups are exploring other avenues, with their social connections and influence, as the proportion of candidates from lower occupational groups grows larger.²

Whatever be the exact concatenation of factors which has led to this broadening of the social background, it has benefited mostly the lower middle class groups, such as, lower civil servants and school-teachers, while the increase in the representation of the sons of the poorer farmers, artisans and industrial workers is comparatively marginal. It has also been accompanied by features such as a more even distribution of recruits from different States, different language-groups and different educational institutions as shown by the tables, and a simultaneous fall in the proportion of first-class graduates.³

Social Class and Other Factors

This suggests a relation between these factors and social class based on occupation. Our comparisons in the earlier chapters of the occupational groups also suggest the same. It is, however, evident from these comparisons that the relation is neither close nor simple. It is equally clear that no firm conclusions can be drawn of the general characteristics of occupational groups, as such, from the small (biased) sample that finds its way into these Services. With these two provisos in mind, we may take due note of the fact that the recruits from the higher occupational groups have an edge over the others in education as well as examination performance.⁴ More precisely, a higher proportion of them have been to convent and public schools and to the better colleges, a higher proportion of them have first classes, get in at the first attempt and do better at the interview. This is less so in the less prestigious Services, but is most noticeable in the Foreign Service where their proportion is also higher.

While it is clear that the recruits from the higher occupational groups have some advantages, we should set against them two compensating factors. The advantages, except in the case of the I.F.S. and the 'alphas' of the I.A.S., are not pronounced.⁵ Secondly, there is no *concentration* of the advantages of birth, schooling and university education, except in the case of the 'alphas' of the Foreign Service. Indeed, the proportion of those who have even two advantages is low. These two facts together with the observed broadening of the social composition of the Services over the years, suggest that this process is likely to continue—in favour of the lower middle class occupational groups.

The general characteristics of the recruits as a whole are more or less the characteristics of the middle class—concentrated through the processes of candidature and recruitment. Thus, the inter-State affiliations, good university education and verbal ability which are

found in a high degree among the recruits are found widely distributed in the parent middle class, of course, much more widely than among the workers and farmers.⁶ It is fairly clear that the process of selection begins with this class from which the large majority of candidates are drawn.

It is, however, not so clear as to how this process works out in the two stages of candidature and recruitment by examination. For this, we want much more information about the distribution of basic characteristics in the middle class as well as among the candidates. It is clear that the candidates offering are not exactly a representative sample of middle class youth, for, some among them are not qualified to appear, a large proportion of the Science and Engineering graduates do not appear for obvious reasons and a proportion even of Arts graduates go in search of other avenues. It is also likely that the social composition and qualifications of those who appear have been changing over the years for one reason or another. As for the next stage of the selection process by examination, the recruits on the whole form an almost representative sample of the candidates in regard to their State of origin and mother-tongue, but tend to have a perceptibly larger proportion of the higher occupational groups and of first classes. It is also apparent that this stage of selection is slowly working in favour of the lower middle classes for some reason or other.⁷ We need, however, to know a good deal more about both stages of selection and about the social composition of India's university graduates and their ambitions before we can say anything more precise about these processes. No sane reformer would want to change them either, without further research along the lines indicated.

An Unrepresentative Bureaucracy

Much can be said by the egalitarian against a system by which the higher civil service is largely drawn from a small (10%) section of the community. But the realist can point out that the position is no different in most advanced as well as developing countries excluding communist regimes.⁸ The middle class occupational groups in these countries dominate the higher civil service to the same extent (80-85%) as in this country. India differs from the more advanced ones essentially in the high degree of its over-representation which in turn depends on the proportionate strength of the middle-class in the total work force. It is nearly 60 per cent in the U.S.A. and is only slightly over-represented in the higher civil service to the tune of 1.5 even when its members account for 80 per cent of it. In India, where this class constitutes less than ten per cent of the total work force, its overall degree of over-representation is over nine and is absurdly high for some groups, such as, the higher civil servants.

As this high degree of middle class over-representation flows from its very small size and the fact that a large majority of the candidates are drawn from it, it may be suggested that the natural growth of the middle class in the wake of economic development is bound to correct its over-representation. Those who regard this method as too slow, and seek alternatives, must still take note of the fact that the majority of candidates are middle class. The failure of French administrative reformers to change the social composition of their higher civil service in 1946-47 flowed from their neglect of this fact (Feyzioglu *op. cit.*). If one still stubbornly goes on to guarantee proportionate representation to all classes among the crowd of the candidates offering, regardless of its overwhelming middle class composition, we can predict an immediate lowering of academic standards of the recruits, as the majority of them will come from the small number of candidates offering from outside the middle class with miserably low educational standards.⁹ At the same time, it is very doubtful whether any social gain would accrue through favours shown to such a microscopic minority of recruits from such a large class.

Let us look at two other less drastic ways of increasing the representation of under-represented groups. Since successful entry is based essentially on an educational test, the competitive examination can either be given at a low educational stage at which equality of educational opportunity already exists; or, educational opportunity may be widened so as to make it equal for all classes at the university degree level at which the present competition takes place. If the former method is adopted under the present conditions, the competitive examination may be administered at, say, the lower secondary level where educational opportunity is much more wide-spread than at the level of university education.¹⁰ It is also probable that if the competition takes the form of a modified intelligence test, all regions and social classes may be represented in proportion to the number of candidates from each as indicated by the selection tests in the Indian Army over a number of years.¹¹ But this method has two drawbacks. In the first place, the number of candidates offering may be so unmanageable as to create insuperable difficulties in regard to the organization and administration of the examinations. Secondly, we are not so sure whether selection at a younger age does not make too many assumptions about the future development of the selected candidates. We do not know whether it would be wise to subsidise their full-time university education or to induct them straight into service with part-time university studies. There are very few relevant examples of such a selection from a large mass of candidates at this stage in other countries from which we can learn some lessons.¹²

The second method of widening educational opportunity up to the university level would seem to be a slow process, but it would enable us to be more sure of the final outcome. Nor can one call it off-hand as too slow without making some statistical studies of university admissions and drop-outs and the careers and ambitions of graduates. But the rough indications are that widening educational opportunity would help the lower middle class first, the industrial worker next and the village agriculturist last.¹³ It is not easy to predict the effect of conducting the competitive examination in the regional languages on the social composition of these Services. State civil services, like the Rajasthan Administrative Service, give rather equivocal indications.¹⁴ It looks as if it may lead to a better representation of the lower middle class, but it is quite unlikely to provide any dramatic increase in the representation of the agricultural and working classes.

Other Changes

It looks as if an enduring change in the social composition of the Services can be best achieved gradually. Can we, however, make up for the over-representation of the urban middle class through training the middle class recruits to understand the other classes, and can we improve the present recruitment procedures? This enquiry is not directly concerned with such questions. I can only suggest such partial answers as derive directly from this study.

The first question involves problems in psychology and sociology that are beyond the scope of this study. I have already thrown doubts on the assumption that civil servants sympathize only with their class of origin and do not understand other classes. Moreover, there is *prima facie*, no reason why this understanding cannot be cultivated as a part of the official ethos. But as things are, it is necessary to enter a caveat. This enquiry (see the last chapter) suggests that the social and political attitudes of the young recruits as well as older officers are not so different and the change, if any, is in the direction of greater scepticism and cynicism as one grows older. This is partly because the socialization of the recruit is left to its natural course, in which the new recruit, already steeped in middle class attitudes, ultimately grows up into the likeness of his seniors. On the other hand, an artificial inculcation of a social conscience through exhortation is bound to fail too. Any new training technique in the direction of improving social understanding of these well-educated young men would need to be sophisticated and based on proper research.

Secondly, it is good to remember that the civil service is to be used essentially as a skilled instrument. Much, in fact too much, has been said and written by some academics to show that it is not an

inert instrument and even to suggest that it may be the silent master of the situation. There is great exaggeration in all this and the actual position depends upon the hard work the politician is prepared to do to make himself master of the instrument. It is up to him to carry out the popular will through the instrument regardless of its class composition.

As for procedural changes in recruitment, it is clear to this writer that the written examination should not be replaced by any method, taking for granted existing academic qualifications of widely varying standards.¹⁵ Our analysis has suggested that the candidates from different universities fare unequally at the examination. Nearly three-fourth of the successful candidates at present come from the six universities of Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Punjab and Allahabad; the rest come mostly from six other universities, namely, Agra, Lucknow, Nagpur, Kerala, Mysore and Patna, while the other universities of India account for less than five per cent of the recruits. It is clear that, under these conditions, the single competitive examination is the most practical and impartial way of selecting the best among those offering.

It would be equally disastrous by the same token to limit the competition to those holding a first class in the first degree or to those who hold a Master's degree.¹⁶ Our analysis has shown that though there is some correlation between a first class degree and performance in the written examination, it is not good enough to support the limiting of the competition to first classes. We have also noted that the second-class Honours graduates from the Madras University fare just as well as, or slightly better than, the first class graduates of other universities. Similarly, limiting the competition to those who hold a second degree is likely to keep out a substantial number of bright young candidates with a good first degree who may not care to proceed to a second degree for some reason or other.

While retaining the written competitive examination, it is still possible to introduce planned tests of personality and aptitudes in the place of the present somewhat short and desultory interview. Departmental researches suggest no clear correlation between performance in office and performance at the interview.¹⁷ It is also clear from our study that there is little correlation of the latter with performance in the written examination either. There is a strong case for changing the interview into a more carefully planned personality and aptitude test as used in the Army and the leading business houses in the country.

All told, this writer would advocate very few fundamental changes in recruitment policy and procedure. We may not have the best or the most representative civil service in the world, but any drastic change in the modes of recruitment would produce more harm than good.

There is much to be said for a policy of controlled experiment, careful research and gradual change.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. The survey of unsuccessful candidates in Chapter II shows that each occupational group is successful more or less in proportion to the number of candidates it presents. This indicates that success-proneness and distribution of the necessary advantages is much the same for different occupational groups at least for 1961-62. But this evidence cannot be treated as conclusive.

2. My investigations into the social background of managers in five big firms (Shell, I.C.I., Hindustan Lever, Tatas and Indaluminium) show that they have a larger percentage of recruits coming from the higher income and occupational groups.

3. Please see the earlier chapters on the various Services and Chapter VII discussing the same phenomenon more dramatically by comparing the recruits of 1947 and 1963.

4. This advantage is very slight. One should not forget, at the same time, that the very presence of the higher occupational groups in greater proportion is proof of the advantages they have.

5. Even in the case of the I.F.S., they are not statistically very significant.

6. It has been shown by I.Q. tests in America that the middle class children have a clear edge in tests based on verbal ability. No such surveys are available for India, but my guess is that the edge would be more pronounced in India. Secondly, the percentage of graduates is in any country higher in the middle class than in the working class. In India, of course, the middle class percentage would be a thousand times greater. Similarly, the greater regional mobility of the middle class in India is proved both by observation as well as census figures.

As the term 'middle class' is used in a loose way, an indication of the meaning attached to it in this study has been given in the first chapter.

7. It is very difficult to establish the change in the social composition of candidates factually as the Union Public Service Commission does not keep applications for a period longer than five years. If, however, we assume that the relation of those who succeeded to those who appear is the same over the years as regards their social composition, then we may infer that the social composition of those who appear has been changing in the same way as that of the recruits. We have some vague basis for such an assumption in the survey of unsuccessful candidates in Chapter II, but that evidence cannot be treated as firm or conclusive.

The future can, however, be studied by making assumptions on the basis of applications over the last five years, by noting the output of universities for the same period and the expressed ambitions of graduates, and by arranging a simulation experiment through the computer.

8. This point is taken up at greater length in an article of mine. See V. Subramaniam, "Representative Bureaucracy : A Re-assessment", *American Political Science Review*, Washington, December 1967. It is taken up at greater length in a forthcoming book of mine comparing the social composition of bureaucracies in 30 different countries entitled *Social Composition of Public Bureaucracies : A Comparative Study*, to be published by Longmans Green, London.

9. This applies only to the actual candidates offering. We do not know anything about the quality of the graduates coming from this class who do not compete. Considering that a large percentage of scientists employed by CSIR are first class graduates drawn mainly from poor families, it is quite likely that the general quality of the candidates from the lower middle class and the working class is not as miserably low as it is among those who compete from this class at present.

10. Even at this level, educational opportunity is still very restricted, but it would be suicidal for efficiency to conduct the examination at any lower level. At this level, the lower middle class probably suffers from no disadvantage whatever, while the town worker and artisan would suffer only marginal disadvantages. But the village farmer would still have a lot of leeway to make.

11. See *Score P.R.W. No. 1 & 2 and Score I.S.P. 54 and P.R.W. 24*, Government of India Publication, New Delhi-1, 1964.

12. In Australia, for several decades, both the Commonwealth Public Service and the various State Services were recruited at the School-leaving level and the Junior School level. But the recruitment was for routine clerical jobs, to start with, and the higher civil servants were drawn from this group essentially through a process of promotion. This method, based on extreme egalitarianism, has been severely criticised by several Australian academics as a way of keeping the best people out. For details, see V. Subramaniam, "Graduates in the Public Services : A Comparative Study of Attitudes", *Public Administration (London)*, Winter 1957. Strictly speaking we have very few successful examples of direct recruitment for the higher civil service at this level followed by intensive training at the university at the cost of the State. The British Civil Service was so recruited for a very short period, but we have no evaluation of its success.

13. This is a rough guess based upon the current percentages of literacy in these three groups.

14. The examination for the Rajasthan Administrative Service can be taken in the Hindi or English medium and may be expected to provide an indication of the consequences of conducting the examination in the regional languages. The R.A.S. has a wider social composition than the I.A.S., but this may bear little relation to the medium of the examination, since the majority of the successful candidates take it in English.

15. I am saying this against a recommendation in this direction made in an earlier study : See R. K. Trivedi and D. N. Rao, "Regular Recruits to the I.A.S.—A Study", *The Journal of the National Academy of Administration*, Vol. V. No. 3.

16. I am stating this specifically against a recommendation to this effect made in an earlier study : See R. K. Trivedi and D. N. Rao, *op cit.* See also Table 16. The figures show that many good recruits would be kept out that way.

17. In regard to the interview, the present short interview *prima facie* gives a clear advantage to those who can produce a striking first impression at the expense of those who take time to warm up. In other words, the advantage goes to a candidate from the upper class and the better school. This advantage is not clearly shown in our analysis of interview marks mainly because the successful candidates from the lower middle class succeed in their second attempt and get fairly good interview marks therein after some experience of it in their first attempt. We have also seen in the earlier chapters that it bears a pretty low correlation to performance in the written examination. Indeed, it bears no correlation to rank either.

LIST OF TABLES

Each table covers the recruits to all the Services included in the study, unless otherwise stated.

In all the Services, except the I.A.S., all the recruits from 1947 to 1963 are covered. In the case of the recruits to the I.A.S., a 40 per cent random sample of 392 candidates has been used. In the case of unsuccessful candidates, a small sample of 162 is used.

The following abbreviations are used in the text:—I.A.S. for the Indian Administrative Service; I.F.S., for the Indian Foreign Service; I.P.S. for the Indian Police Service; Ac.S. for the two senior Accounts Services, viz., the Indian Audit & Accounts Service, and the Indian Railway Accounts Service; C & P.S. for Customs and Postal Services; USC for unsuccessful candidates.

<i>Number of th Table</i>	<i>Title of the Table</i>
1	<i>Distribution by State of Birth.</i>
2	<i>Distribution by Mother-tongue.</i>
3	<i>Candidates Residing in their Birth State and a different State.</i>
4	<i>Relation between the Recruits' Mother-tongue and State of Birth.</i>
5	<i>Distribution by State of Birth and Examination Centre.</i>
6	<i>Distribution by Father's Occupation.</i>
7	<i>Distribution by Religion and Caste.</i>
8	<i>Distribution according to the Universities of the Recruits.</i>

- 9 *Distribution by Colleges Attended.*
- 10 *I.A.S.—Occupational Categories related to Education and Examination Performance.*
- 11 *I.F.S.—Occupational Categories related to Education and Examination Performance.*
- 12 *I.P.S.—Occupational Categories related to Education and Examination Performance.*
- 13 *Ac.S.—Occupational Categories related to Education and Examination Performance.*
- 14 *C. & P.S.—Occupational Categories related to Education and Examination Performance.*
- 15 *I.A.S.—Table relating Universities and the Classes in the First Degree of their alumni.*
- 16 *I.A.S.—Main Subjects offered for the First Degree related to the Class obtained in the Degree.*
- 17 *I.P.S.—Main Subjects offered for the First Degree related to the Class obtained in the Degree.*
- 18 *Ac.S.—Main Subjects offered for the First Degree related to the Class obtained in the Degree.*
- 19 *C. & P.S.—Main Subjects offered for the First Degree related to the Class obtained in the Degree.*

- 20 *I.A.S.—The Class of the First Degree related to the Percentage of Marks in the Written Papers.*
- 21 *I.F.S.—The Class of the First Degree related to the Percentage of Marks in the Written Papers.*
- 22 *Ac.S.—The Class of the First Degree related to the Percentage of Marks in the Written Papers.*
- 23 *The Characteristics of Alphas and Betas for all Services.*
- 24 *I.A.S.—Marks (%) in Written Papers related to Marks (%) in the Interview.*
- 25 *I.F.S.—Marks (%) in the Written Papers related to Marks (%) in the Interview.*
- 26 *I.P.S.—Marks (%) in the Written Papers related to Marks (%) in the Interview.*
- 27 *Ac.S.—Marks (%) in the Written Papers related to Marks (%) in the Interview.*
- 28 *C. & P.S.—Marks (%) in the Written Papers related to Marks (%) in the Interview.*
- 29–30 *I.A.S. & I.P.S.—State of Birth related to Rank in the Examination (% distribution).*
- 31 *I.F.S.—Mother-tongue related to Rank in the Examination.*
- 32 *Unsuccessful Candidates of 1961-62 not called for Interview : Distribution by State of Birth, Religion and Mother-tongue.*

- 33 *Unsuccessful candidates of I.A.S. : those not called for Interview and those called for Interview but not finally selected : Distribution by Father's Occupation.*
- 34 *I.A. & A.S.—Promotees : Distribution by State of Birth.*
- 35 *I.A. & A.S.—Promotees : Distribution by Mother-tongue.*
- 36 *I.A. & A.S.—Promotees : Distribution by Father's Occupation.*
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TABLE 1
Distribution by State of Birth

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Service	1 Percentage of recruits 2 Coefficient of representation	Period	A.P.	Assam	Bihar	Gujarat	J. & K.	Kerala	M.P.	Madras	Maharashtra
IFS	1	47-63	0.69	2.78	4.17	2.08	0.69	5.56	3.47	6.94	8.33
	2	47-63	0.08	1.03	0.39	0.44	0.85	1.44	0.47	0.90	0.92
IAS	1	47-56	2.53	0.63	1.90	2.53	—	5.70	1.27	17.09	5.70
	2	57-63	3.88	3.88	3.02	0.43	—	3.88	1.73	17.67	8.19
IPS	1	47-56	0.29	0.26	0.18	0.56	—	1.52	0.18	2.05	0.64
	2	57-63	0.47	1.44	0.29	0.09	—	1.01	0.23	2.30	0.91
AcS	1	47-56	4.38	2.06	8.51	0.51	—	6.70	1.80	9.28	8.25
	2	57-63	4.95	2.86	7.55	0.26	0.26	6.25	1.56	11.46	3.65
C&P	1	47-56	0.51	0.84	0.79	0.11	—	1.79	0.24	1.11	0.93
	2	57-63	0.60	1.06	0.71	0.05	0.32	1.67	0.21	1.49	0.40
C&P	1	47-56	4.25	—	3.77	0.47	1.89	8.96	1.89	24.53	2.83
	2	57-63	5.88	4.20	2.94	1.26	—	8.82	—	23.11	4.62
C&P	1	47-56	0.49	0.00	0.35	0.10	2.10	2.39	0.26	2.94	0.31
	2	57-63	0.72	1.55	0.28	0.26	—	2.99	—	3.01	0.51
C&P	1	47-56	1.52	1.52	—	1.52	1.52	4.55	—	24.24	6.06
	2	57-63	4.61	2.63	5.92	0.66	0.66	7.89	3.95	21.05	3.95
C&P	1	47-56	0.18	0.62	—	0.34	1.69	1.21	—	2.92	1.35
	2	57-63	0.56	0.97	0.56	0.14	0.81	2.05	0.54	2.74	0.44
Percentage of population in each State	1	as of 1951	8.62	2.44	10.74	4.50	0.90	3.75	7.22	8.34	8.86
	2	as of 1961	8.19	2.70	10.58	4.70	0.81	3.85	7.37	7.67	9.00

TABLE 1—Contd.

1	2	3	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Service	1 Percentage of recruits	Period	Mysore	Orissa	Punjab	Rajasthan	U.P.	W.B.	Delhi	Pakistan	(Total no. of recruits)
IFS	1	47—63	5.56	2.08	8.33	4.17	11.81	4.86	3.47	25.00	144
	2	47—63	1.04	0.52	1.80	0.91	0.70	0.61	5.78	—	—
IAS	1	47—56	7.59	1.90	9.49	1.27	18.35	4.43	1.27	18.35	157 (+1)
		57—63	6.03	5.60	5.17	3.45	12.50	6.03	1.30	17.24	232 (+2)
	2	47—56	1.41	0.47	2.12	0.29	1.05	0.61	2.65	—	—
		57—63	1.12	1.40	1.12	0.75	0.74	0.76	2.17	—	—
IPS	1	47—56	0.77	3.61	8.25	3.09	18.04	6.44	1.80	16.47	388
		57—63	2.08	4.17	9.90	3.91	16.67	2.86	3.39	18.23	384
	2	47—56	0.14	0.89	1.85	0.70	1.03	0.88	3.75	—	—
		57—63	0.39	1.04	2.14	0.85	0.99	0.36	5.65	—	—
AcS	1	47—56	5.66	1.42	8.02	0.94	12.26	3.77	1.89	17.45	212
		57—63	7.98	0.84	6.30	0.42	7.98	9.24	4.20	12.18	238
	2	47—56	1.05	0.35	1.79	0.20	0.70	0.52	3.94	—	—
		57—63	1.49	0.21	1.36	0.09	0.48	1.17	7.00	—	—
C&P	1	47—56	7.58	—	6.06	—	9.09	9.09	9.09	18.18	66
		57—63	4.61	3.29	3.95	0.66	12.50	3.29	1.32	19.08	152
	2	47—56	1.41	—	1.35	—	0.52	1.11	18.94	—	—
		57—63	0.86	0.82	0.85	0.14	0.74	0.41	2.18	—	—
Percentage of population in each State		as of 1951	5.37	4.05	4.47	4.42	17.50	7.28	0.48	—	—
		as of 1961	5.37	3.99	4.62	4.59	16.79	7.95	0.60	—	—

NOTE : In column two 1 represents the percentage of recruits and 2 represents the coefficient of representation. The coefficient of representation is obtained by dividing the percentage of recruits born in any State by the percentage of India's population in that State according to the 1951 census for the first period and the 1961 census for the second. It gives a more reliable measure of the representation of each State than the percentage of recruits drawn from that State gives. The same concept of coefficient is used in the same way in later tables for other categories such as mother-tongue, religion and father's occupation.

In all tables : IFS stands for the Indian Foreign Service, IAS stands for the Indian Administrative Service, IPS stands for the Indian Police Service, AcS stands for the Accounts Services and C&P stands for the Customs and Postal Services.

Other abbreviations : A. P.—Andhra Pradesh; J. & K.—Jammu & Kashmir; M. P.—Madhya Pradesh; U. P.—Uttar Pradesh; W. B.—West Bengal.

TABLE 2
Distribution by Mother-tongue

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Service	1 Percentage of recruits 2 Coefficient of representation	P ri od	Assamese	Bengali	Gujarati	Hindi/Urdu	Kannada	Kashmiri	Malayalam
IFS	1	47-63	0.69	6.94	4.86	31.25	4.86	0.69	7.64
	2	47-63	0.44	0.90	1.05	1.03	1.23	0.69	1.97
IAS	1	47-56	0.63	10.76	4.43	28.48	2.53	—	4.43
	2	57-63	1.71	11.11	1.71	25.21	3.85	—	2.99
	1	47-56	0.45	1.53	0.97	0.81	0.62	—	1.18
	2	57-63	1.10	1.44	0.37	0.83	0.97	—	0.77
IPS	1	47-56	2.06	12.11	1.03	38.65	1.80	—	7.22
	2	57-63	1.82	7.81	—	38.80	2.34	—	6.51
	1	47-56	1.47	1.72	0.23	1.10	0.44	—	1.93
	2	57-63	1.71	1.01	—	1.28	0.59	—	1.68
AcS	1	47-56	—	7.08	0.47	29.22	4.72	—	8.02
	2	57-63	0.84	15.15	0.84	18.07	5.04	—	9.24
	1	47-56	—	1.01	0.10	0.83	1.16	—	2.14
	2	57-63	0.54	2.02	0.18	0.60	1.27	—	2.39
C&P	1	47-56	—	15.15	1.52	19.70	10.61	—	6.06
	2	57-63	—	8.55	1.32	26.32	2.63	—	5.92
	1	47-56	—	2.15	0.33	0.56	2.61	—	1.12
	2	57-63	—	1.11	0.28	0.87	0.66	—	1.53
Percentage of speakers in India's population	As of 1951		1.40	7.04	4.57	35.26	4.06	0.01	3.75
	As of 1961		1.55	7.71	4.62	30.38	3.96	0.44	3.87

TABLE 2—Contd.

1	2	3	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Service	1 Percentage of recruits 2 Coefficient of representation	Period	Marathi	Oriya	Punjabi	Tamil	Telugu	Tribal Languages, English etc.	Total no. of recruits (N)
IFS	1	47-63	6.94	2.78	18.75	6.94	0.69	6.94	144
	2	47-63	0.92	0.78	7.53	0.99	0.08	0.39	—
IAS	1	47-56	5.69	1.90	16.45	20.15	1.27	3.16	158
		57-63	6.84	5.55	12.82	21.79	4.70	1.71	234
	2	47-56	0.75	0.51	3.66	2.71	0.14	0.28	—
		57-63	0.90	1.55	5.15	3.13	0.55	0.15	—
IPS	1	47-56	6.44	3.35	13.92	9.79	2.84	0.77	388
		57-63	2.34	3.91	17.71	12.24	4.95	1.56	384
	2	47-56	0.85	0.91	3.10	1.32	0.31	0.07	—
		57-63	0.31	1.09	7.11	1.76	0.58	0.14	—
AcS	1	47-56	4.25	1.42	11.79	26.42	5.19	1.42	212
		57-63	2.94	0.42	9.24	30.26	4.62	2.94	238
	2	47-56	0.56	0.38	2.63	3.55	0.56	0.12	—
		57-63	0.39	0.12	3.71	4.35	0.54	0.26	—
C&P	1	47-56	4.55	—	18.18	21.21	—	3.03	66
		57-63	3.95	3.29	12.50	22.37	5.26	7.89	152
	2	47-56	0.60	—	4.05	2.85	—	0.26	—
		57-63	0.52	0.92	5.02	3.21	0.61	0.43	—
Percentage of speakers in India's population.		As of 1951	7.58	3.69	4.49	7.44	9.25	11.46	100.00
		As of 1961	7.58	3.58	2.49*	6.96	8.57	18.29	100.00

*This big drop is due to a large number of persons, who registered as Punjabi-speakers in the 1951 Census, declaring themselves as Hindi-speakers in 1961. This is not reflected to the same extent in the applications of recruits. Hence the over-representation of Punjabi-speakers is nearly doubled in a misleading manner.

TABLE 3
Candidates Residing in their Birth State and a different State.

Service Period	IFS			IAS			IPS			AcS			C&P			
	47—56	57—63	64—70	47—56	57—63	64—70	47—56	57—63	64—70	47—56	57—63	64—70	47—56	57—63	64—70	
A.P.	1	2	2	2	1	2	11	6	10	9	5	4	4	10	1	2
Assam	1	—	2	2	5	4	6	2	7	4	—	—	—	3	1	5
Bihar	3	1	—	1	8	1	27	6	25	4	7	1	4	3	—	4
Gujarat	5	1	2	2	5	2	—	2	—	1	1	—	2	1	—	7
J. & K.	1	2	2	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	1	—
Kerala	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	16	10	14	2	10	11	10	2	9
M. P.	3	5	4	5	4	5	10	4	2	4	9	2	—	—	1	6
Madras	2	3	2	—	1	3	3	13	32	12	42	10	35	20	13	3
Maharashtra	5	5	21	6	24	17	23	2	8	6	5	1	6	5	1	6
Mysore	6	6	8	1	11	8	30	2	6	2	7	5	2	13	2	4
Orissa	4	4	4	8	6	4	1	2	13	3	3	—	7	8	—	4
Punjab	1	2	1	2	9	4	10	4	18	20	13	4	2	—	2	1
Rajasthan	5	7	7	8	6	6	22	10	55	5	22	1	1	—	—	5
U.P.	3	3	2	—	6	2	7	5	10	9	1	4	12	7	6	1
W.B.	9	8	24	5	21	8	61	9	9	2	22	4	18	4	4	12
Delhi	5	2	4	3	11	3	16	9	9	2	6	2	4	2	2	4
Delhi	4	1	2	—	2	1	4	3	8	5	3	1	6	4	5	2
TOTAL	57	51	85	44	119	73	231	93	213	101	128	47	121	88	38	90
																34

N. B. : Under each period, 1 represents persons residing in their birth State and 2 represents persons residing in a different State. These do not include displaced persons from Pakistan.

TABLE 4
Relation between the Recruits' Mother-tongue and State of Birth.

Service Period	IFS			IAS			IPS			AcS			C&P		
	47-63			47-56			47-56			47-56			47-56		
	1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2		1	2	
A.P.															
Assam	—	1	2	2	6	3	11	6	16	3	7	2	—	1	6
Bihar	—	4	—	1	1	8	7	1	5	6	—	—	—	1	—
Gujarat	3	3	3	—	7	—	29	4	28	1	7	1	—	—	8
J. & K.	2	1	3	1	1	—	2	—	—	1	1	—	1	—	1
Kerala	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	1	—
M.P.	8	—	6	3	6	3	23	3	20	5	15	4	3	—	9
Madras	1	4	1	1	3	1	3	4	6	—	1	3	—	—	4
Maharashtra	7	3	24	3	38	3	32	4	40	4	46	6	14	2	31
Mysore	6	6	5	4	13	6	21	11	8	5	3	3	2	2	5
Orissa	1	2	3	9	8	6	1	2	7	1	8	4	4	1	3
Punjab	6	2	3	—	12	1	12	2	15	1	3	—	—	—	5
Rajasthan	8	4	8	7	10	2	25	7	27	11	8	9	2	2	3
U.P.	6	—	2	—	8	—	11	1	15	—	2	—	—	—	1
W.B.	13	4	24	5	27	3	69	1	60	4	21	5	5	1	18
Delhi	4	3	7	—	10	4	23	2	11	—	7	1	6	—	5
Pakistan	3	2	—	—	1	1	6	1	10	3	4	—	5	1	1
	18	18	20	7	33	11	44	20	49	21	19	18	11	1	20
TOTAL	87	57	113	43	184	52	319	69	317	67	152	60	53	13	32

N. B. :—Under each period, 1 represents recruits who speak the regional language (of the State of birth) as mother-tongue and 2 represents those speaking a non-regional language (of the State of birth) as mother-tongue. For recruits of Pakistani origin Punjabi and Bengali are regarded as the languages of the State of birth.

TABLE 5
Distribution by State of Birth and Examination Centre.

Service Period	IFS		IAS		IPS		ACS		C&P	
	47-63	1	47-56	57-63	47-56	57-63	47-56	57-63	47-56	57-63
A.P.	1	2	4	3	17	9	9	3	1	4
Assam	3	1	1	6	7	7	—	6	1	4
Bihar	4	2	1	5	10	23	7	5	—	7
Gujarat	—	3	4	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
J. & K.	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kerala	—	8	—	2	25	7	—	3	—	8
M.P.	1	4	2	—	7	—	4	—	3	4
Madras	6	4	7	26	12	30	32	29	13	23
Maharashtra	7	5	4	13	15	9	4	2	1	3
Mysore	1	7	11	5	3	4	—	1	—	5
Orissa	1	2	3	8	6	12	2	2	—	1
Punjab	3	9	15	3	31	10	—	1	—	4
Rajasthan	1	5	1	1	12	4	—	—	—	—
U.P.	6	11	29	16	18	49	15	7	4	12
W.B.	4	3	4	9	6	8	8	18	2	5
Delhi	5	—	1	2	—	11	3	7	6	1
Displaced persons	—	36	27	—	64	70	—	37	12	29
TOTAL	42	102	35	114	235	179	205	88	28	82

N.B. :—Under each period, 1 represents those who had taken the examination in the State of their birth and 2 represents candidates who had taken the examination in a State other than their State of birth.

TABLE 6
Distribution by Father's Occupation

Service	1 Percentage of representation 2 Coefficient of representation	Period	Higher Civil Servant	Lower Civil Servant	Em- ployee in Private Firm/1 Businessman	School Teacher	Univer- sity Profes- sor etc.	Doc- tor	Law- yer	Total % for prof. middle class	Land- owner, Zamin- dar & Farmer	Others	Total (N) Total no. of recruits
IFS	1	1947—1956	45.90	4.97	13.11	6.56	3.28	3.28	4.92	82.12	11.47	6.56	61
		1957—1963	42.17	4.82	19.28	4.82	10.85	3.61	3.61	89.19	3.61	7.22	83
	2	1947—1956	655.71	7.13	3.24	8.20	109.33	25.25	164.00	—	0.21	16.30	—
		1957—1963	602.43	6.99	4.76	6.03	361.66	27.77	120.33	—	0.07	14.80	—
IAS	1	1947—1956	32.50	17.50	16.25	3.75	7.50	5.00	11.25	93.75	4.38	1.87	158
		1957—1963	26.50	17.09	14.53	6.41	4.70	5.13	6.84	81.20	12.39	6.41	234
	2	1947—1956	464.28	25.36	4.01	4.69	250.00	38.46	375.00	—	0.08	0.46	—
		1957—1963	378.57	24.77	3.59	8.01	156.67	39.46	228.00	—	0.23	0.16	—
IPS	1	1947—1956	19.84	17.78	12.37	6.44	5.93	5.15	13.14	80.65	15.98	3.35	388
		1957—1963	22.91	19.01	15.36	6.77	3.13	4.17	5.73	77.08	19.01	3.91	384
	2	1947—1956	283.43	25.77	3.05	8.05	197.67	39.61	438.00	—	0.28	0.08	—
		1957—1963	327.29	27.55	3.80	8.46	104.33	32.08	191.00	—	0.55	0.96	—
AcS	1	1947—1956	24.53	22.17	12.74	7.55	6.60	3.30	8.49	85.38	7.55	7.07	212
		1957—1963	12.61	25.21	18.91	8.40	4.20	3.36	7.56	80.25	13.03	6.72	238
	2	1947—1956	350.43	32.13	3.14	9.44	220.00	25.38	283.00	—	0.139	0.176	—
		1957—1963	180.14	36.54	4.67	10.50	140.00	25.85	252.00	—	0.24	0.17	—
C&P	1	1947—1956	12.12	25.76	12.12	7.58	9.09	6.06	9.09	82.82	12.12	6.06	66
		1957—1963	11.84	26.32	16.45	7.89	5.26	3.95	7.24	78.95	16.45	4.60	152
	2	1947—1956	173.14	37.33	2.99	9.47	303.00	46.61	303.00	—	0.22	0.15	—
		1957—1963	169.14	38.14	4.06	9.86	175.33	30.61	241.33	—	0.30	0.11	—

N. B. : The basic figures for each occupational category in India's working population were worked out from the 1951 Census and Civil Service statistics.

TABLE 7
Distribution by Religion and Caste

Service	1 Percentage of recruits 2 Coefficient of representation	Period	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Buddhists	Jains	Sikhs	Parsis	Jews	(N)*	Scheduled Castes	Brahmins
IFS	1	1947-1963	80.55	5.56	6.25	1.39	0.69	5.56	—	—	144	10.42	21.53
	2	1947-1963	0.96	0.52	2.56	1.88	1.50	3.11	—	—	—	0.30	5.38
IAS	1	1947-1956	86.70	2.53	1.90	—	1.90	5.70	1.27	—	158	0.63	34.18
	2	1957-1963	88.45	1.28	3.85	—	0.43	5.56	—	0.43	234	9.04	36.32
	1	1947-1956	1.02	0.25	0.81	—	4.22	3.27	3.43	—	—	0.02	8.55
	2	1957-1963	1.06	0.12	1.58	—	0.93	3.11	—	1.16	—	0.30	9.08
IPS	1	1947-1956	87.37	1.55	3.61	—	0.52	6.44	0.52	—	388	2.32	31.44
	2	1957-1963	83.85	1.05	5.47	—	1.82	7.55	0.26	—	384	10.42	21.35
AcS	1	1947-1956	1.03	0.16	1.54	—	1.16	3.70	1.41	—	—	0.08	7.86
	2	1957-1963	1.00	0.10	2.24	—	3.96	4.22	0.70	—	—	0.35	5.34
	1	1947-1956	89.15	2.36	3.77	—	0.47	4.25	—	—	212	1.92	37.74
	2	1957-1963	93.70	0.42	2.10	—	0.84	2.94	—	—	238	7.98	24.80
C&P	1	1947-1956	1.04	0.24	1.60	—	1.04	2.44	—	—	—	0.06	9.43
	2	1957-1963	1.12	0.04	0.86	—	1.83	1.64	—	—	—	0.27	11.45
	1	1947-1956	83.33	1.52	7.58	—	1.52	6.06	—	—	66	1.52	39.39
	2	1957-1963	86.18	0.66	7.89	—	1.32	3.95	—	—	152	3.29	34.21
Percentage of India's population	1	1947-1956	0.98	0.15	3.22	—	3.38	3.48	—	—	—	0.05	9.85
	2	1957-1963	1.03	0.06	3.23	—	2.87	2.21	—	—	—	0.11	8.55
	As of 1951	85.13	9.91	2.35	0.05	0.45	1.74	0.37	—	—	—	30.00	4.00
	As of 1961	83.51	10.69	2.44	0.74	0.46	1.79	0.37	—	—	—	(approx) 30.00	(approx) 4.00

*N indicates total number of recruits.

TABLE 8
Distribution according to the Universities of the Recruits.

Service Period	IFS		IAS		IPS		Acs		C&P	
	1947—1963	1947—1956	1947—1956	1957—1963	1947—1956	1957—1963	1947—1956	1957—1963	1947—1956	1957—1963
Allahabad .	6.25	12.66	14.95	11.20	10.38	3.78	10.61	8.55		
Bombay .	13.89	5.06	6.70	1.56	6.60	5.04	19.70	5.92		
Calcutta .	6.25	5.70	10.05	7.03	5.19	13.87	9.08	7.89		
Delhi .	26.39	10.12	7.47	10.42	10.85	8.82	10.61	9.21		
Madras .	9.72	26.58	17.01	16.67	32.55	35.71	24.24	22.37		
Punjab .	15.97	19.00	14.18	17.97	17.45	9.66	1.52	15.13		
Others .	21.53*	20.89	29.64	35.15	16.98	23.12	24.24	30.92		
TOTAL (N)@	144	158	388	384	212	238	66	152		

*Includes 3.47 per cent who are educated entirely in foreign universities. In the case of all the other Services, the majority in this category were educated in the Universities of Lucknow, Nagpur, Agra or Patna.

@N indicates total number of recruits.

TABLE 9
Distribution by Colleges Attended.

Service	Period	Ordinary colleges	St. Stephens, Delhi	Presidency, Calcutta	St. Xavier, Elphinstone, Bombay	Sydenham, Bombay	St. Joseph's, Trichy	Ravenshaw, Cuttack	Loyola, Madras	Madras Christian College	Allahabad Residential University	Vivekananda, Madras	Some other well-known colleges	Total (N)*
IFS	1947—1963	38.89	21.53	4.17	0.69	5.56	0.69	1.39	1.39	4.17	3.47	4.17	10.42	144
IAS	1947—1956	45.6	4.4	9.5	3.8	1.7	—	1.9	9.5	3.2	12.0	1.3	5.7	158
	1957—1963	43.2	11.1	5.6	9.0	1.3	0.43	4.3	6.4	3.8	7.3	5.6	1.7	234
IPS	1947—1956	53.87	3.09	3.87	5.67	—	2.58	1.55	5.41	2.32	15.21	0.77	3.61	388
	1957—1963	61.24	2.84	2.58	3.09	0.26	0.52	3.61	4.90	3.35	11.08	1.55	3.09	384
AcS	1947—1956	42.92	6.13	5.66	2.83	0.47	1.89	0.47	8.96	7.08	10.85	2.83	5.66	212
	1957—1963	52.52	5.46	5.04	5.46	—	1.26	—	5.46	4.20	4.62	6.72	3.36	238
C&P	1947—1956	37.88	9.09	3.03	1.52	—	4.55	—	1.52	9.09	13.64	1.52	9.09	66
	1957—1963	57.89	3.29	3.95	2.63	—	2.63	1.97	4.61	5.92	9.21	3.95	1.32	152

N. B: The other well-known colleges include Hislop, Nagpur; Forman Xian, Lahore and Central, Bangalore.
*N indicates total number of recruits.

TABLE 10

THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE
Occupational Categories related to Education and Examination Performance

Occupational Categories	1947—1956						1957—1963					
	HCS	LCS	PROF	BUS	FAR	OTH	HCS	LCS	PROF	BUS	FAR	OTH
(N=Number of recruits in each category)	52	26	44	26	7	7	62	40	62	34	29	7
Percentage distribution of characteristics	Schools Attended	7.7	—	3.8	14.3	—	11.3	2.5	3.2	8.8	—	—
	Public	5.8	19.2	13.6	7.7	14.3	12.9	12.5	11.3	14.7	—	—
	Convent	86.5	80.8	86.4	88.5	71.4	75.8	85.0	85.5	76.5	100.0	100.0
	Others	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Colleges Attended	53.8	65.4	52.3	53.8	42.9	64.5	50.0	61.3	58.8	51.7	14.3
	Better Ordinary	46.2	34.6	47.7	46.2	57.1	35.5	50.0	38.7	41.2	48.3	85.7
	Class or Division of the University Degree	55.8	57.7	59.1	50.0	57.1	53.2	47.5	43.5	26.5	27.6	14.3
	I Class in the 1st Degree	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	I Class in the 2nd Degree	15.4	23.1	9.1	11.5	42.9	12.9	10.0	16.1	23.5	10.3	—
	2nd or 3rd Class	28.8	19.2	31.8	38.5	—	33.9	42.5	40.4	50.0	76.8	85.7
General performance in examination	Alphas	23.1	7.7	34.1	42.2	—	24.2	10.0	6.5	14.7	3.4	14.3
	Betas	44.2	61.5	25.0	19.3	71.4	27.4	17.5	21.0	23.6	6.9	—
	Gammas	32.7	30.8	41.9	38.5	28.6	24.2	15.0	16.1	2.9	17.2	—
	Others	—	—	—	—	—	24.2	57.5	56.4	58.8	72.5	85.7
	Interview performance	34.5	38.5	34.1	19.0	—	48.4	42.5	27.4	47.0	—	—
	Over 50	65.5	61.5	65.9	81.0	100.0	51.6	57.5	72.6	53.0	100.0	100.0
	Under 50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

N. B. : In this and all the succeeding tables 'HCS' stands for Higher Civil Servant, 'LCS' stands for Lower Civil Servant, 'PROF' stands for Professional, 'BUS' stands for Businessman, 'FAR' stands for Farmers and 'OTH' stands for Others.

In 1947-1956 there is none in the category of "Others".

TABLE 11
THE INDIAN FOREIGN SERVICE
Occupational Categories related to Education and Examination Performance

Occupational Categories (N=No. of recruits in each category)	1947-1956				1957-1963			
	HCS	PROF	BUS	LAN	HCS	PROF	BUS	LAN
	28	15	8	7	35	20	16	3
Schools Attended	21.4	6.7	12.5	28.6	37.2	15.0	31.3	33.3
Public	14.3	26.7	25.0	—	31.4	20.0	12.5	—
Convent	64.3	66.7	62.5	71.4	31.4	65.0	56.2	66.7
Others								
University Attended	25.0	6.6	12.5	—	20.0	10.0	6.3	33.3
Oxford or Cambridge	10.7	13.4	12.5	14.3	—	—	6.3	—
Other Foreign	64.3	80.0	75.0	85.7	80.0	90.0	87.4	66.7
Indian								
Indian Colleges Attended	75.0	73.3	62.5	57.1	65.7	50.0	50.0	66.7
Better Ordinary	25.0	26.7	37.5	42.9	34.3	50.0	50.0	33.3
Class or Division of the University Degree	50.0	40.0	62.5	42.8	31.4	45.0	37.5	33.3
I Class in the 1st Degree								
I Class in the 2nd Degree	7.1	20.0	25.0	28.6	8.6	10.0	12.5	—
2nd or 3rd Class	42.9	40.0	12.5	28.6	60.0	45.0	50.0	66.7
General performance in examination	53.6	73.3	50.0	42.8	37.2	35.0	12.4	—
Alphas	46.4	26.7	50.0	28.6	31.4	35.0	43.8	100.0
Betas	—	—	—	28.6	31.4	30.0	43.8	—
Gammias	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Others								
Interview performance	67.9	73.3	62.5	57.1	71.4	75.0	62.5	100.0
Over 50	32.1	26.7	37.5	42.9	28.6	25.0	37.5	—
Under 50								

Percentage distribution of characteristics

N. B. : LAN stands for Landlord.

TABLE 12

THE INDIAN POLICE SERVICE

Occupational Categories related to Education and Examination Performance

Period Occupational Categories		1947—1956					1957—1963						
		HCS	LCS	PROF	BUS	FAR	OTH	HCS	LCS	PROF	BUS	FAR	OTH
(N=No. of recruits in each category)		77	69	102	48	62	25	88	73	51	59	73	26
Percentage distribution of characteristics													
Schools Attended	Public	10.4	1.45	1.00	8.3	3.2	—	12.5	2.7	1.9	3.4	5.5	3.8
	Convent	5.2	1.45	1.00	6.3	—	—	10.2	2.7	3.9	5.1	—	3.8
	Others	84.4	97.1	98.00	85.4	96.8	100	77.3	94.6	94.2	91.5	94.5	82.4
Colleges Attended	Better	49.4	43.5	44.12	43.8	50.0	60.0	48.9	35.6	33.3	39.0	38.4	42.3
	Ordinary	50.6	56.5	55.88	56.2	50.0	40.0	51.1	64.4	66.7	61.0	61.6	57.7
Class or Division of the University Degree	I Class in the 1st Degree	19.5	30.4	25.5	31.3	29.0	36.0	9.1	21.9	17.7	20.3	12.3	15.4
	I Class in the 2nd Degree 2nd or 3rd Class	11.7	11.6	14.7	4.2	6.45	12.0	5.7	9.5	9.8	3.4	11.0	7.7
General performance in examination	Alphas	31.1	34.8	31.4	33.3	30.7	52.0	19.3	8.2	23.5	6.8	4.1	15.2
	Betas	24.7	27.5	22.5	37.5	25.8	24.0	15.9	23.3	17.6	10.2	9.6	23.8
	Others	44.2	37.7	46.1	29.2	43.5	24.0	64.8	68.5	58.9	83.0	86.3	61.0
Interview performance	Over 50	22.1	17.4	24.5	27.1	24.2	20.0	44.3	23.3	47.1	32.2	21.9	34.6
	Under 50	77.9	82.6	75.5	72.9	75.8	80.0	55.7	76.7	52.9	67.8	78.1	65.4

N. B. : The "Others" in this table are mostly school teachers not included among the professionals as in the case of other Services.

TABLE 13

THE ACCOUNTS SERVICES

Occupational Categories related to Education and Examination Performance

Period Occupational Categories		1947—1956					1957—1963						
		HCS	LCS	PROF	BUS	FAR	OTH	HCS	LCS	PROF	BUS	FAR	OTH
(N=No. of recruits in each category)		52	47	61	27	16	9	30	60	61	45	31	11
Percentage distribution of characteristics													
Schools Attended	Public	19.23	4.26	4.92	3.70	6.25	—	3.33	3.28	3.33	2.10	—	—
	Convent	13.46	2.13	3.28	—	6.25	—	16.67	6.67	3.28	—	—	—
	Others	67.31	93.61	91.80	96.30	87.50	100	80.00	90.00	93.44	97.90	100	100
Colleges Attended	Better	63.46	42.55	54.10	44.44	18.75	44.44	60.00	50.00	55.74	26.67	45.16	18.18
	Ordinary	36.54	57.45	45.90	55.56	81.25	55.56	40.00	50.00	44.26	73.33	54.84	81.82
Class or Division of the University	I Class in the 1st Degree	40.38	23.41	55.74	40.74	31.25	22.22	33.33	46.67	42.62	35.56	32.27	18.18
	I Class in the 2nd Degree	17.31	6.38	6.56	11.11	6.25	—	—	6.67	4.92	6.67	6.49	9.09
	2nd or 3rd Class	42.31	70.21	37.70	48.15	93.75	77.78	66.67	46.66	52.46	57.87	61.24	72.73
General performance in examination	Alphas & Betas	21.15	8.51	13.11	18.52	6.25	11.11	10.00	13.33	16.39	8.89	6.43	—
	Gammas	17.31	21.28	11.48	22.22	12.50	11.11	6.67	5.00	—	8.89	9.70	—
	Others	61.54	70.21	75.41	59.26	81.82	77.78	83.33	81.67	83.61	82.22	83.87	100
	Interview performance	19.23	27.66	18.03	14.81	12.50	22.22	40.00	28.33	31.15	17.78	9.68	18.18
Over 50		80.87	72.34	81.97	85.19	87.50	77.78	60.00	71.67	68.85	92.22	90.32	81.82

TABLE 14
THE CUSTOMS AND POSTAL SERVICES
Occupational Categories related to Education and Examination Performance

Period Occupational Categories		1947—1956						1957—1963					
		HCS 8	LCS 17	PROF 23	BUS 8	FAR 8	OTH 2	HCS 18	LCS 40	PROF 38	BUS 25	FAR 25	OTH 5
(N=No. of recruits in each category)													
Percentage distribution of characteristics	Schools Attended	12.5	—	—	—	12.5	—	5.6	—	2.6	—	—	—
	Public	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5.3	—	—	—
	Convent	87.5	100.0	100.0	100.0	87.5	100.0	94.4	100.0	92.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Others												
	Colleges Attended	87.5	52.9	60.9	50.0	62.5	100.0	50.0	50.0	42.1	40.0	16.0	—
	Better Ordinary	12.5	47.1	39.1	50.0	37.5	—	50.0	50.0	57.9	60.0	84.0	100.0
	Class or Division of the University	25.0	47.1	31.1	25.0	50.0	50.0	33.3	35.0	28.9	28.0	28.0	—
	I Class in the 1st Degree	—	11.6	13.1	—	12.5	—	5.6	12.5	2.6	12.0	—	—
	2nd Degree	75.0	41.3	55.8	75.0	37.5	50.0	61.1	52.5	68.4	60.0	72.0	100.0
	2nd or 3rd Class												
General performance in examination	Alphas, Betas & Gammas	—	23.6	26.2	12.5	25.0	50.0	11.1	5.0	2.6	—	—	—
	Others	100.0	76.4	73.8	87.5	75.0	50.0	88.9	95.0	97.4	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Interview performance	—	11.6	21.7	—	12.5	—	38.9	15.0	23.7	8.0	8.0	20.0
Over 50 Under 50	100.0	88.4	88.3	100.0	87.5	100.0	61.1	85.0	76.3	92.0	92.0	80.0	

TABLE 15
THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE
Table relating Universities and the Classes in the First Degree of their alumni

Period	Degree	University	Madras	Allahabad	Bombay	Calcutta	Delhi	Punjab	Others	Total (N)*
1947-1956	Honours	Class I	22	1	2	—	5	5	3	38
		Class II	11	1	—	1	3	2	2	20
		Class III	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2
	Pass	Class I	2	12	2	5	5	11	15	52
		Class II	4	6	3	2	2	10	11	38
		Class III	2	—	1	1	—	2	2	8
	TOTAL		42	20	8	9	16	30	33	158
1957-1963	Honours	Class I	17	—	1	3	9	1	9	40
		Class II	19	2	—	7	15	3	5	51
		Class III	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	4
	Pass	Class I	3	14	3	5	1	6	25	57
		Class II	10	2	3	12	4	7	24	62
		Class III	2	—	2	3	2	3	8	20
	TOTAL		53	18	9	30	33	20	71	234

(N)* indicates total number of recruits.

TABLE 16
THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE
Main Subjects offered for the First Degree related to the Class obtained in the Degree

Period	Degree	Class	Mathe- matics	Physi- cal Sciences	Biology	Com- merce	English Litera- ture	Sans- krit, Pali/ Arabic	Eco- nomics	Politics	History	Others	Total (N)†
1947-1956	Honours	Class I	6	12	—	2	5	—	8	—	5	—	38
		Class II	3	3	2	1	2	—	6	—	3	—	20
		Class III	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
	Pass	Class I	6	13	—	—	9	—	12	4	8	—	52
		Class II	2	9	—	4	3	—	14	5	4	—	41
		Class III	—	2	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	5
TOTAL			18	39	2	8	20	—	41	10	20	—	158
1957-1963	Honours	Class I	11*	14	—	1	2	—	4	3	5	—	40
		Class II	2	1	1	3	7	—	25	4	8	—	51
		Class III	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	4
	Pass	Class I	12*	16	—	3	4	—	8	5	5	—	57
		Class II	3	9	2	1	7	4	26	7	5	2	62
		Class III	—	4	—	—	—	—	13	3	—	—	20
TOTAL			29	44	3	8	20	4	77	22	25	2	234

(N)† indicates total number of recruits.

*Includes in each case, an engineering graduate.

N. B.—In the 1947-56 period 106 (67.1%) completed a second degree and of these, 23 former II and III classes secured first classes. In the 1957-63 period 140 (50.8%) completed a second degree and of these 34 former II and III classes secured first classes.

TABLE 17
THE INDIAN POLICE SERVICE
Main Subjects offered for the First Degree related to the Class obtained in the Degree

Period	Degree	Class	Mathematics	Physical Sciences	Biology	Commerce	English Literature	Sanskrit, Pali/Arabic	Economics	Politics	History	Others	Total (N)*
1947-1956	Honours	Class I	10	10	1	—	2	—	13	—	4	—	40
		Class II	3	11	1	1	7	—	37	2	5	—	67
		Class III	3	2	1	—	2	—	2	—	2	—	12
	Pass	Class I	16	20	4	5	4	1	6	3	7	—	66
		Class II	11	20	6	7	10	—	62	21	24	3	164
		Class III	6	11	—	3	—	1	14	2	2	—	39
	TOTAL		49	74	13	16	25	2	134	28	44	3	388
1957-1963	Honours	Class I	6	10	1	—	—	—	2	1	—	1	21
		Class II	3	6	—	—	4	—	30	8	17	—	68
		Class III	2	1	—	—	2	—	8	—	—	—	13
	Pass	Class I	6	12	2	1	2	—	4	5	6	2	40
		Class II	6	16	2	5	16	—	52	30	2	4	133
		Class III	3	13	7	1	2	—	34	18	31	—	109
	TOTAL		26	58	12	7	26	—	130	62	56	7	384

(N)* indicates total number of recruits.

TABLE 18

THE ACCOUNTS SERVICES

Main Subjects offered for the First Degree related to the Class obtained in the Degree.

Period	Degree	Class	Mathe- matics	Physi- cal Sciences	Biology	Com- merce	English Litera- ture	Sans- krit, Pali etc.	Eco- nomics	Politics	History	Total (N)†
1947-1956	Honours	Class I	14*	15	—	2	5	2	14	—	6	58
		Class II	5	7	—	2	4	1	22	—	14	55
		Class III	—	2	—	—	2	—	2	—	1	7
	Pass	Class I	15*	10	1	2	1	3	2	—	2	36
		Class II	2	10	2	5	4	—	12	5	5	45
		Class III	2*	4	—	1	—	—	1	1	2	11
	TOTAL		38	48	3	12	16	6	53	6	30	212
1957-1963	Honours	Class I	17	16	1	7	—	—	5	—	1	47
		Class II	4	7	1	2	6	—	30	2	6	58
		Class III	2	1	—	—	1	—	3	1	—	8
	Pass	Class I	15	13	—	8	1	1	5	—	2	45
		Class II	3*	11	1	13	4	—	15	4	2	53
		Class III	1*	4	1	6	2	—	10	3	—	27
	TOTAL		42	52	4	36	14	1	68	10	11	238

N.B. : *Includes one engineering graduate in each case.
(N)† indicates total number of recruits.

TABLE 19
THE CUSTOMS & POSTAL SERVICES
Main Subjects offered for the first Degree related to the Class obtained in the Degree

Period	Degree	Class	Mathe- matics	Physical Sciences	Biology	Com- merce	English	Eco- nomics	Politics	History	Total (N)*
1947—1956	Honours	Class I	2	4	—	—	1	2	—	2	11
		Class II	—	2	—	—	6	5	—	1	14
		Class III	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2
	Pass	Class I	2	5	—	—	—	2	—	4	13
		Class II	1	3	—	5	1	6	—	6	22
		Class III	—	1	—	—	1	2	—	—	4
	TOTAL		6	15	—	5	9	17	—	14	66
1957—1963	Honours	Class I	3	12	—	—	1	2	—	6	24
		Class II	1	1	1	1	1	18	2	8	33
		Class III	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	2
	Pass	Class I	7	7	—	1	1	4	—	3	23
		Class II	1	3	3	6	4	7	10	9	43
		Class III	1	5	—	2	2	12	2	3	27
	TOTAL		13	28	4	10	10	44	14	29	152

(N)* indicates total number of recruits

TABLE 20
THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE
The Class of the First Degree related to the Percentage of Marks in the Written Papers

Period Degree Class	1947—1956						1957—1963					
	Honours			Pass			Honours			Pass		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Percentage of marks in the written papers	Total			Total			Total			Total		
	(N)*			(N)*			(N)*			(N)*		
	Up to 40	40—45	45—50	50—55	55—60	60—65	65—70	Marks	Doubtful	Up to 40	40—45	45—50
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	7	10	1	1	8	25	13	3	2	1	1	1
	17	9	1	1	13	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
	12	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	36	20	2	53	40	7	158	40	51	4	57	62
	20			20			20			20		
	234			234			234			234		

(N)* indicates total number of recruits.

TABLE 21
THE INDIAN FOREIGN SERVICE
The Class of the First Degree related to the Percentage of Marks in the Written Papers

Period Degree Class	1947—1956						1957—1963					
	Honours			Pass			Honours			Pass		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
Percentage of marks in the written papers	Total (N)*			Total (N)*			Total (N)*			Total (N)*		
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III
	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	2	—	—	3	6
	3	3	—	6	9	3	—	3	—	3	4	—
	4	2	—	6	6	—	—	5	—	7	13	—
	2	3	—	4	3	—	—	5	—	2	2	1
	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—
	11	8	—	18	20	4	61	14	23	3	14	22
TOTAL	11	8	—	18	20	4	61	14	23	3	14	22
											8	84

(N)* indicates total number of recruits.

TABLE 22

THE ACCOUNTS SERVICES

The Class of the First Degree related to the Percentage of Marks in the Written Papers

Period Degree Class	1947—1956										1957—1963									
	Honours			Pass			Total (N)*				Honours			Pass			Total (N)*			
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	—	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	—
Up to 40	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
40—45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
45—50	8	6	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
50—55	28	24	2	19	27	6	26	106	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
55—60	18	20	3	6	10	2	59	21	20	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
60—65	1	1	—	6	2	—	10	8	6	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
65—70	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
70—75	1	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Marks	2	4	1	—	1	1	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Doubtful	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	58	55	7	36	45	11	212	47	58	8	45	53	27	238	—	—	—	—	—	—

(N)* indicates total number of recruits.

TABLE 23

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ALPHAS AND

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	<i>Service</i>	<i>IFS</i>				<i>IAS</i>			
	<i>Period</i>								
	<i>Characteristic Studied</i>	'47—'56		'57—'63		'47—'56		'57—'63	
		α	β	α	β	α	β	α	β
<i>Father's Occupation</i>	HCS	15	12	13	11	12	23	15	17
	LCS	1	—	3	—	2	16	5	7
	PROF	11	2	7	7	15	11	4	12
	BUS	4	3	2	7	11	5	5	8
	FAR	3	—	—	3	1	5	1	2
	ART	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	1
<i>Schools attended</i>	Public	2	6	9	8	1	4	3	5
	Convent	9	2	9	4	4	7	7	4
	Others	23	9	7	16	36	52	21	38
<i>Colleges attended</i>	Better	22	13	16	18	28	33	21	32
	Ordinary	12	4	9	10	13	30	10	15
<i>Class of Degree</i>	First Class in I Degree	18	8	10	14	31	34	19	27
	First Class in II Degree	7	3	3	3	10	18	7	10
	II & III Classes	9	6	12	11	—	11	5	10
<i>Interview Marks</i>	Over 50%	24	9	21	22	30	33	20	25
	Under 50%	10	8	4	6	11	30	11	22

N. B. α -Alpha; β -Beta; γ -Gamma

In this table ART (col. 2) stands for Artisan/Worker : other abbreviations are explained in Table 10.

Out of 34 Alphas in the Indian Foreign Service in 1947-56, 3 attended Oxford-Cambridge, 4 attended other foreign universities and 27 attended Indian universities. In the same period, out of 17 Betas, 7 attended Oxford-Cambridge or other foreign universities and 10 attended Indian universities. In the second period, out of 25 Alphas, 6 attended Oxford-Cambridge and 19 attended Indian universities. Out of 28 Betas in the same period, 4 attended Oxford-Cambridge, 1 attended some other foreign university and 23 attended Indian universities.

BETAS FOR ALL SERVICES

11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
I P S				AcS				C & P Services		Total of Alphas and Betas for all Services
'47—'56		'57—'63		'47—'56		'57—'63		'47—'56	'57—'63	'47—'63 (Total—1029)
α	β	$\alpha+\beta$	γ	$\alpha+\beta$	γ	$\alpha+\beta$	γ	$\alpha\beta\gamma$	$\alpha\beta\gamma$	
24	19	17	14	11	9	3	2	—	2	319
24	19	6	17	4	10	8	3	4	2	176
50*	32	16*	15*	8	7	10	—	6	1	277
16	18	4	8	5	6	4	4	1	—	154
19	16	3	8	1	2	2	3	2	—	85
2	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	—	18
7	3	6	3	5	4	1	—	1	—	88
1	6	3	3	2	3	2	2	—	—	101
127	95	37	56	23	28	24	10	13	5	840
66	49	25	26	16	23	17	7	9	—	592
69	55	21	36	14	12	10	5	5	5	437
46	34	9	14	16	24	19	5	6	2	502
20	7	—	6	4	3	1	—	2	—	172
69	63	37	42	10	8	7	7	6	3	355
52	20	30	27	8	13	7	6	2	2	513
83	84	16	35	22	22	20	6	12	3	516

While IFS, IPS, AcS and C & P are studied in total, IAS is studied only on the basis of a 40 per cent sample. For the sake of the final total presented here, the IAS figures for Alphas and Betas are inflated by about two and a half times.

For the I.P.S., AcS and C & P Services, the Gammas are also included but their numbers are small.

The last column analysing the characteristics of the total of Alphas and Betas of all the Services studied suggests that their advantages are only a slight degree more than those of the recruits in general.

*These figures of professionals include (for the I.P.S.) 13 school teachers for α 's and 6 school teachers for β 's for the 1947-56 period and four school teachers for α and β 's and six school teachers for γ 's for 1957-63.

TABLE 24
THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE
Marks (%) in Written Papers related to Marks (%) in the Interview

Period	Marks in the Written Papers (%)												
	1947—1956						1957—1963						
	Up to 50	50—55	55—60	60—65	65+	Total (N)†	40—50	50—55	55—60	60—65	65+	Total (N)†	
Marks in the interview (%)													
Up to 20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	3	9	6	22	
20—25	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	1	2	—	6	
25—30	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	14	2	—	18	
30—35	3	2	15	6	1	27	1	1	11	1	—	14	
35—40	—	6	18	10	1	35	1	5	8	3	—	17	
40—45	—	3	16	4	2	25	8	5	7	1	1	22	
45—50	—	9	6	5	1	21	5	12	15	6	3	41	
50—55	—	7	4	2	—	13	1	19	12	1	—	33	
55—60	—	5	4	3	—	12	1	4	14	1	2	22	
60—65	—	4	3	2	—	9	—	7	5	1	—	13	
65—70	1	2	2	1	—	6	—	4	6	2	—	12	
70—75	—	2	3	—	—	5	—	4	4	1	—	9	
Over 75	—	—	5	—	—	5	—	—	2	—	3*	5	
TOTAL	4	40	76	33	5	158	22	65	102	30	15	234	

*Marks somewhat doubtful.
(N)† indicates number of recruits.

TABLE 26
THE INDIAN POLICE SERVICE.

Marks (%) in the Written Papers related to Marks (%) in the Interview														
Period	Marks in the Written Papers (%)													
	1947—1956						1957—1963							
	Up to 50	50—55	55—60	60—65	65+†	Total (N)†	Up to 50	50—55	55—60	60—65	65+	Total (N)†		
Up to 20	
20—25	
25—30	
30—35	
35—40	
40—45	
45—50	
50—55	
55—60	
60—65	
65—70	
70—75	
TOTAL	

N.B.: Information regarding the marks of 8 candidates in 1947-1956 was somewhat doubtful and they are not included. Similarly, the information about the 20 candidates included in the last two rows for 1957-1963 is also doubtful.

The upper square is the *inner*, and the lower square, the *outer*, core group, in each period.

(N)† indicates number of recruits.

TABLE 28

THE CUSTOMS AND POSTAL SERVICES.

Marks (%) in the Written Papers related to Marks (%) in the Interview.

Period	Marks in the Written Papers (%)									
	1947-1956					1957-1963				
	Up to 50	50-55	55-60	Total (N)†		Up to 50	50-55	55-60	60-65	Total (N)†
Marks in the interview (%)										
Up to 20	—	6	1	9	7	23
20-25	—	2	—	3	—	5
25-30	—	2	2	3	1	8
30-35	19	3	6	6	1	16
35-40	15	7	3	4	1	15
40-45	10	9	11	5	3	28
45-50	8	7	12	3	—	22
50-55	2	3	5	1	—	9
55-60	—	1	8	1	—	10
60-65	2	1	1	1	—	3
65+	2	—	5	—	—	5
TOTAL	58	41	54	36	13	144

N.B. : Eight recruits, whose marks are in doubt, are not included in the table.

(N)† indicates number of recruits.

THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLICE SERVICES (1947—1963)

State of Birth related to Rank in the Examination (% distribution)

Service	Class	Andhra Pradesh	Assam	Bihar	Gujarat	Kerala	Madhya Pradesh	Madras	Maharashtra	Mysore	Orissa	Punjab	Rajasthan	Uttar Pradesh	West Bengal	Delhi	Pakistan	Total (N)†
IAS	I	75.0	100.0	66.7	100.0	88.9	100.0	96.3	77.8	100.0	66.7	93.3	100.0	96.6	85.7	100.0	96.6	76
	II	25.0	—	33.3	—	11.1	—	3.7	22.2	—	33.3	6.7	—	3.4	—	—	3.4	71
	III	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14.3	—	—	10
1957—1963	I	66.7	11.2	42.9	100.0	44.4	75.0	46.3	52.6	57.1	53.8	50.0	25.0	48.3	50.0	33.3	47.6	59
	II	11.1	44.4	14.2	—	44.4	25.0	48.8	31.6	35.7	38.5	16.7	62.5	31.0	35.7	66.7	38.1	53
	III	22.2	44.4	42.9	—	11.2	—	4.9	15.8	7.2	18.7	33.3	13.5	21.7	16.3	—	15.3	122
IPS	I	5.26	18.18	6.90	—	25.0	50.00	27.27	28.57	25.00	37.50	23.68	33.33	28.13	9.09	15.38	27.14	34
	II	47.37	9.09	41.38	100.0	37.5	33.33	40.91	42.86	25.00	31.25	28.95	13.33	39.00	54.55	30.77	27.24	350
	III	47.37	80.73	51.72	—	27.5	16.67	31.82	28.57	50.00	41.25	47.37	53.34	32.81	36.30	53.85	45.62	—

N.B : (N)† indicates number of recruits. There is only one recruit from Jammu and Kashmir and he is placed within the second 50 ranks.

For both IAS
and IPS

Class I includes all the recruits placed within the 1st 50 ranks.

Class II includes all the recruits placed within the 2nd 50 ranks.

Class III includes all the recruits placed below the 100th rank.

TABLE 31
THE INDIAN FOREIGN SERVICE (1947—1963)
Mother-tongue related to Rank in the Examination.

	Assamese	Bengali	Gujarati	Hindi/Urdu	Kannada	Kashmiri	Malayalam	Marathi	Oriya	Punjabi	Tamil	Telugu	Tribal Languages	Total (N)†
First 25 ranks	—	71.4	40.0	63.4	66.6	100.0	72.7	50.0	50.0	52.0	70.0	100.0	71.4	81
Rank in the competitive examination	Second 25	—	28.6	34.1	33.4	—	27.3	50.0	50.0	48.0	20.0	—	28.6	50
Third 25 ranks	—	—	—	2.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	10.0	—	—	2
TOTAL	—	7	10	41	6	1	11	10	4	25	10	1	7	133

N B : Eleven recruits were taken from the Special List from ranks below the first 75 and are not included in the main table.
(N)† indicates number of recruits.

TABLE 32

Unsuccessful Candidates of 1961-1962 not called for Interview : Distribution by State of Birth, Religion and Mother-tongue

State	A.P.	Assa- am	Bi- har	Guj- arat	Ker- ala	M.P.	Mad- ras	Maha- rash- tra	My- sore	Orissa	Pun- jab	Rajas- than	U.P.	W.B.	Delhi	Pakis- tan
By State (N-162)	3.09	3.09	8.64	3.09	6.17	2.47	9.26	8.64	5.56	4.94	6.79	1.23	16.66	16.79	3.70	9.88
2. Percentage of recruits to IAS 1957-1963	3.88	3.88	3.02	0.43	3.88	1.73	17.67	8.19	6.03	5.60	5.17	3.45	12.50	6.03	1.30	17.24
Success co-efficient (ratio of 2 to 1)	1.26	1.26	0.35	0.14	0.63	0.70	1.91	0.95	1.08	1.13	0.75	2.80	0.75	0.89	0.35	1.79
Religion								Hindus		Muslims		Christians				Sikhs
By Religion								85.80		4.94		3.09				4.32
1. Percentage of Candidates (N-162)								88.45		1.28		3.85				5.56
2. Percentage of recruits to IAS 1957-1963								1.03		0.26		1.3				1.29
Success co-efficient (ratio of 2 to 1)																
Mother-tongue		Assa- mese	Bengali	Guja- rati	Hindi/ Urdu	Kanna- da	Mala- yalam	Mara- thi	Oriya	Punjabi	Tamil	Telugu			Tribal Langu- ages	
By Mother-tongue	1.23	8.64	3.10	34.57	4.94	5.56	7.41	4.32	11.73	9.88	3.70	4.94				
1. Percentage of Candidates																
2. Percentage of recruits to IAS 1957-1963	1.71	11.11	1.71	25.21	3.85	2.99	6.84	5.55	12.87	21.79	4.70	1.71				
Success co-efficient (ratio of 2 to 1)	1.40	1.29	0.55	0.73	0.79	0.54	0.93	1.29	1.10	2.21	1.28	0.35				

N. B. : Jammu & Kashmir State and the Kashmiri mother-tongue are unrepresented.

TABLE 33

Unsuccessful Candidates of I.A.S. : Those not called for Interview and those called for Interview but not Finally Selected : Distribution by Father's Occupation

<i>Father's Occupation</i>		Higher Civil Servant	Lower Civil Servant	Employee in private firm/Business-man	School teacher	Univer- sity Prof./ Lect-urer	Doctor	Lawyer	Land- owner	Small farmer or tenant	Learned profes- sional	Wor- kers and others
1. Percentage of unsuccessful uninter- viewed candidates (N—612)		14.81	25.32	16.66	7.41	2.47	2.47	6.79	19.75	—	1.85	2.47
2. Percentage of I.A.S. recruits 1957—1963 (N—234)		26.50	17.09	14.53	6.41	4.70	5.13	6.84	12.39	—	3.42	2.99
Success co-efficient (ratio of 2 to 1)		1.79	0.74	0.88	0.87	1.90	2.08	1.01	0.63	—	1.85	1.21
3. Percentage of interviewed but unsuc- cessful candidates (N—47)		34.04	10.64	17.02	4.26	8.51	4.26	6.38	10.64	2.13	2.13	—

TABLE 34

I.A. & A.S.—Promotees : Distribution by State of Birth

State	A.P.	Assam	Bi- har	Gu- jarat	J.&K.	Ke- rala	M.P.	Mad- ras	Maha- rashtra	My- sore	Orissa	Pun- jab	Ra- jasthan	U.P.	W.B.	Delhi	Pakis- tan
Percentage of promotees born in the State (N— 111)	4.50	0.9	5.40	—	—	2.70	0.9	20.72	5.40	3.60	2.70	4.50	1.80	5.40	12.61	—	30.63
Percentage of direct recruits 1947—1956	4.25	—	3.77	0.47	1.89	8.96	1.89	24.53	2.83	5.66	1.42	8.02	0.94	12.26	3.77	1.89	17.45
Percentage of direct recruits 1957—1963	5.88	4.20	2.94	1.26	—	8.82	—	23.11	4.62	7.98	0.84	6.30	0.42	7.98	9.24	4.20	12.18

TABLE 35

I.A. & A.S.—Promotees : Distribution by Mother-tongue

Mother-tongue	Assa- mese	Ben- gali	Guja- rati	Hindi/ Urdu	Kan- nada	Mala- yalam	Mara- thi	Oriya	Punjabi	Tamil	Telugu	Tribal Langu- ages
Percentage of promotees (N—111)	—	33.33	—	10.81	—	2.70	2.70	3.60	16.21	24.32	1.80	4.50
Percentage of direct recruits 1947—1956	—	7.08	0.47	29.22	4.72	8.02	4.25	1.42	11.79	26.42	5.19	1.42
Percentage of direct recruits 1957—1963	0.84	15.15	0.84	18.07	5.04	9.24	2.94	0.42	9.24	30.26	4.62	2.94

TABLE 36
I.A. & A.S.—Promotees : Distribution by Father's Occupation

Father's Occupation	Higher Civil Servant	Lower Civil Servant	Employee in private firm	Business-man	School Teacher	University Professor/lecturer	Doctor	Lawyer	Landowner	Small farmer/tenant	Learned Professional	Worker/Artisan
Percentage of promotees (N=111)	8.11	32.43	5.41	8.11	13.51	0.90	4.50	3.60	12.61	4.50	—	6.3
Percentage of direct recruits 1947—1956	24.53	22.17	6.25	6.49	7.55	6.60	3.30	8.49	3.65	3.90	6.40	0.65
Percentage of direct recruits 1957—1963	12.61	25.21	3.08	15.83	8.40	4.20	3.36	7.56	3.68	9.35	—	6.72

TABLE 37
THE INDIAN FOREIGN SERVICE
Relation between Interview Marks and some Characteristics

Period	1947—1956			1957—1963		
	I	II	III	I	II	III
Interview Performance						
Public School boys	60.0	40.0	—	57.9	31.6	10.5
Oxbridge Graduates	66.7	33.3	—	87.5	12.5	—
Alumni of better colleges	50.0	23.8	26.2	47.6	42.9	9.5
Scouts/National Cadets	50.0	30.8	19.2	—	—	—

N.B. : I's include those who get over 60% at the interview; the II's those who get 45-60% and III's, those who get below 45%.

TABLE 38

THE INDIAN POLICE SERVICE

Relation between Interview Marks and some Characteristics

<i>Period</i>	1947—1956			1957—1963		
	I	II	III	I	II	III
<i>Interview Performance</i>						
Public School boys . . .	9.8	41.5	43.8	12.5	50.0	37.5
Alumni of better colleges . . .	9.4	48.2	42.4	12.9	41.2	45.9
Scouts and National Cadets . . .	6.0	47.0	47.0	8.5	41.9	49.6

N.B. : Information about the marks of 11 candidates in 1947-1956 and 19 candidates in 1957-1963 was somewhat doubtful.

TABLE 39
Successful Candidates of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from the Special List 1956-1963

Examination Year	The Indian Administrative Service			The Indian Police Service			The Central Services		
	Number of successful candidates in the general list	Number of general* candidates getting marks higher than the first successful Scheduled Caste/Tribe candidate@)	Number of general* candidates getting marks higher than the last successful Scheduled Caste/Tribe candidate@)	Number of successful candidates in the general list	Number of general* candidates getting marks higher than the first successful Scheduled Caste/Tribe candidate@)	Number of general* candidates getting marks higher than the last successful Scheduled Caste/Tribe candidate@)	Number of successful candidates in the general list	Number of general* candidates getting marks higher than the first successful Scheduled Caste/Tribe candidate@)	Number of general* candidates getting marks higher than the last successful Scheduled Caste/Tribe candidate@)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1956	—	23 (63·8%)	23 (63·8%)	4	99 (61·1%)	103 (61%)	6	146 (58%)	149 (58·9%)
1957	2	82 (56·9%)	138 (54·6%)	1	146 (54·9%)	186 (53·3%)	—	88 (56·8%)	323 (46·8%)
1959	1	25 (61·7%)	170 (53·3%)	—	25 (61·8%)	235 (51·4%)	2	70 (58·5%)	395 (49·2%)
1960	—	38 (62·6%)	205 (51·2%)	1	64 (61·6%)	294 (51·4%)	—	5 (64·3%)	503 (48·9%)
1961	2	21 (69·4%)	188 (53·9%)	4	11 (68·4%)	321 (51·5%)	6	34 (65·8%)	461 (48·9%)
1962	—	23 (66·1%)	188 (55·4%)	1	23 (58·8%)	206 (51·4%)	2	35 (61·8%)	198 (49·1%)
1963	1	43 (61·9%)	113 (52·8%)	2	20 (61·6%)	189 (47·3%)	1	— (60·4%)	221 (45·4%)
Average number of general list candidates 'jumped over' for period 1956—1963		30	173		29	249		29	356

N.B. 1. The data for 1958 were not completely available.

2. The percentages within brackets denote the per cent of total marks secured by the first and last Sc. Caste/Sc. Tribe candidate in the Special List.

*Unselected; @ : In the Special List.

APPENDIX I

I.A.S. : Distribution by State of Declared Domicile

(Table prepared by the Ministry of Home Affairs)

I.A.S. Probationers 1948—1964 : Ranking of States and Union Territories in terms of number of Officers/Million Population

State/Union Territory	Population in Millions	Percentage of Union Population	Number of IAS Officers	Percentage to total recruitment	IAS Officers per Million
Delhi	2.65	0.61	75	7.45	28.30
Nagaland	0.37	0.08	4	0.40	10.80
Madras	33.68	7.68	217	21.55	6.44
Punjab	20.30	4.63	111	11.02	4.98
Kerala	16.90	3.85	48	4.77	2.85
West Bengal	34.93	7.96	82	8.14	2.34
Himachal Pradesh	1.35	0.31	3	0.30	2.22
Uttar Pradesh	73.75	16.81	163	16.18	2.21
Orissa	17.54	4.00	37	3.66	2.11
Assam	11.87	2.71	24	2.37	2.02
Mysore	23.58	5.38	40	4.00	1.69
Rajasthan	20.15	4.60	26	2.57	1.29
Bombay	60.18	13.72	74	7.35	1.23
Andhra Pradesh	35.98	8.20	35	3.47	0.97
Bihar	46.45	10.59	40	4.00	0.86
Jammu & Kashmir	3.56	0.81	2	0.20	0.56
Madhya Pradesh	32.37	7.38	26	2.57	0.80
TOTAL	435.61	99.32*	1007	100.0	2.31

*This is in respect of population in all areas excepting those in Manipur, Tripura, NEFA, Sikkim, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Pondicherry and Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands.

APPENDIX II

I.P.S. : Distribution by State of Declared Domicile
(Table prepared by the Ministry of Home Affairs)

I.P.S. Probationers 1948—1963 : Ranking of States and Union Territories in terms of number of Officers/Million Population						
State/Union Territory	Population in Millions	Percentage of Union Population	Number of IPS Officers	Percentage to total recruitment	IPS Officers	
					per million	
Delhi	2.65	0.61	60	8.30		22.64
Punjab	20.30	4.63	83	11.48		4.09
Madras	33.68	7.63	97	13.42		2.88
Kerala	16.90	3.85	39	5.39		2.31
Himachal Pradesh	1.35	0.31	3	0.41		2.22
Uttar Pradesh	73.75	16.81	140	19.36		1.90
West Bengal	34.93	7.96	59	8.16		1.69
Orissa	17.54	4.00	27	3.73		1.54
Rajasthan	20.15	4.60	31	4.29		1.54
Assam	11.87	2.71	17	2.35		1.43
Bihar	46.45	10.59	59	8.16		1.27
Madhya Pradesh	32.37	7.38	31	4.29		0.96
Andhra Pradesh	35.98	8.20	26	3.59		0.72
Jammu & Kashmir	3.56	0.81	2	0.29		0.56
Bombay*	60.18	13.72	34	4.70		0.56
Mysore	23.58	5.38	13	1.80		0.55
Nagaland	0.37	0.08	1	0.14		0.27
Pondicherry	0.37	0.08	1	0.14		0.27
TOTAL	435.98	99.40**	723	100.00		1.65

*Maharashtra 39.55 Gujarat 20.63

**Percentage figures in respect of all Union Territories and other areas including Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Pondicherry and Nagaland have not been included.

APPENDIX III

List of Public Schools in India which are Members of the Indian Public Schools Conference

1. Air Force Central Schools.
2. Birla Public School, Pilani.
3. Birla Vidya Mandir, Nainital.
4. Bishop Cotton School, Simla.
5. Daly College, Indore.
6. Doon School, Dehra Dun.
7. Hansraj Morarji, Bombay.
8. Hyderabad Public School.
9. King George's School, Ajmer.
10. King George's School, Bangalore.
11. King George's School, Belgaum.
12. King George's School, Chail.
13. Lawrence School, Lovedale.
14. Lawrence School, Sanawar.
15. Maharani Gayatri Devi School, Jaipur.
16. Mayo College, Ajmer.
17. Modern School, New Delhi.
18. Punjab Public School, Nabha.
19. Rajkumar College, Raipur.
20. Rajkumar College, Rajkot.
21. Rishi Valley School, Rishi Valley.
22. Sadul Public School, Bikaner.
23. Scindia School, Gwalior.
24. Sh. Shivaji P.M.S., Poona.
25. Vikas Vidyalaya, Ranchi.
26. Yadavindra Public School, Patiala.

Associated Members

27. King George's School, Dholpur.
28. Sainik School, Bhubaneshwar.
29. Sainik School, Lucknow.
30. Sainik School, Jamnagar.
31. Sainik School, Kapurthala.
32. Sainik School, Chittorgarh.
33. Sainik School, Kunjpura.
34. Sainik School, Korukonda.
35. Sainik School, Purulia.

APPENDIX IV

THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE, 1947—1956

State of Birth related to State of Residence

State of Residence	State of Birth																	Total (N)†
	A.P.	As- sam	Bihar	Guja- rat	J.&K.	Ker- ala	M.P.	Mad- ras	Maha- rash- tra	My- sore	Ori- ssa	Pun- jab	Rajas- than	U.P.	W.B.	Delhi	Dis- pla- ced per- sons	
A.P.	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Assam	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bihar	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Gujarat	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
J & K.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kerala	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
M.P.	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Madras	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	21	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27
Maharashtra	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2	8	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18
Mysore	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Orissa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Punjab	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	11
Rajasthan	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	—	—	—	5
U.P.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	24	2	—	—	32
W.B.	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	—	—	10
Delhi	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	3	—	1	—	6	—	3	1	2	—	26
Displaced	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	4	1	3	4	—	9	2	27	9	12	3	15	2	29	7	2	27	156

N.B. : In addition to these, one officer was born in Burma and another in Tripura. These were resident in Kerala and Bihar respectively, making a total of 158.

(N)† indicates total number of recruits.

THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE—1963
Father's Occupation related to Paternal Grandfather's Occupation

Father's Occupation	Paternal Grand father's Occupation													Total
	Higher Civil Servant	Lower Civil Servant	Employee in private firm	Business owner	College/University Professor & Lecturer	School Teacher	Doctor	City lawyer/ Judge and Advocate	Minister/ Governor	Big Zamindar	Tenant & Cultivator	Others learned professionals	Not stated (N)*	
Higher Civil Servant	6	7	1	—	1	4	3	—	3	1	1	1	5	33
Lower Civil Servant	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	2	11
Employee in private firm	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	5
Business owner	—	1	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	10
College/University Professor and Lecturer	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	5
School teacher	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	4
Doctor	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	6
City Lawyer, Judge & Advocate	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	1	—	8
Minister, Governor and Dewan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Big Zamindar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Tenant cultivator	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	1	3	16
Others	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Other learned Professionals	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Not stated	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	10	11	4	4	2	4	6	1	5	6	13	7	8	107

*N indicates total number of recruits.

ERRATA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Para</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Please read</i>
26	1	8	candidate	candidates
42	1	10	'alhas'	'alphas'
46	3	12	keenness	keenness
67	—	1	FOOTNOTE	FOOTNOTES
67	2	9	order or merit	order of merit
77	1	3	collegss	colleges
84	1	9	humbers	numbers
23	3	4	The sentence should read : "This survey has been published by the All India Management Association New Delhi."	
137	2	last line	Please delete Appendix-V.	



(Contd. from first flap)

In his early years, Professor Subramaniam changed over from Chemistry to the study of Political Science and Public Administration and also did a spell as a journalist. He took his doctorate from the Australian National University, Canberra, in 1959 and was Simon Senior Fellow at the Manchester University, in 1960. He was Lecturer at the University of Queensland in 1959, Senior Lecturer at the University of Western Australia (1961-65) and Senior Research Fellow at the Australian National University in 1966. He was a Professor at the National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie (1964-65) for over a year. During this time, he collected material for the present work. Later, he was a Professor at the Indian Institute of Public Administration (1967). At present, he is a Professor at the University of Zambia, Lusaka. He has twice won prizes in the Haldane Essay Competition of the Royal Institute of Public Administration.

Prof. Subramaniam has published over twenty-five papers in academic journals such as *Public Administration* (London), *Public Administration*, (Sydney), *Public Administration Review*, *American Political Science Review* and *The International Review of Administrative Sciences*. He has conducted and supervised several other social background studies, including one of Indian business managers, sponsored by the All-India Management Association and another of Australia's higher civil servants under the auspices of the Australian National University.

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